

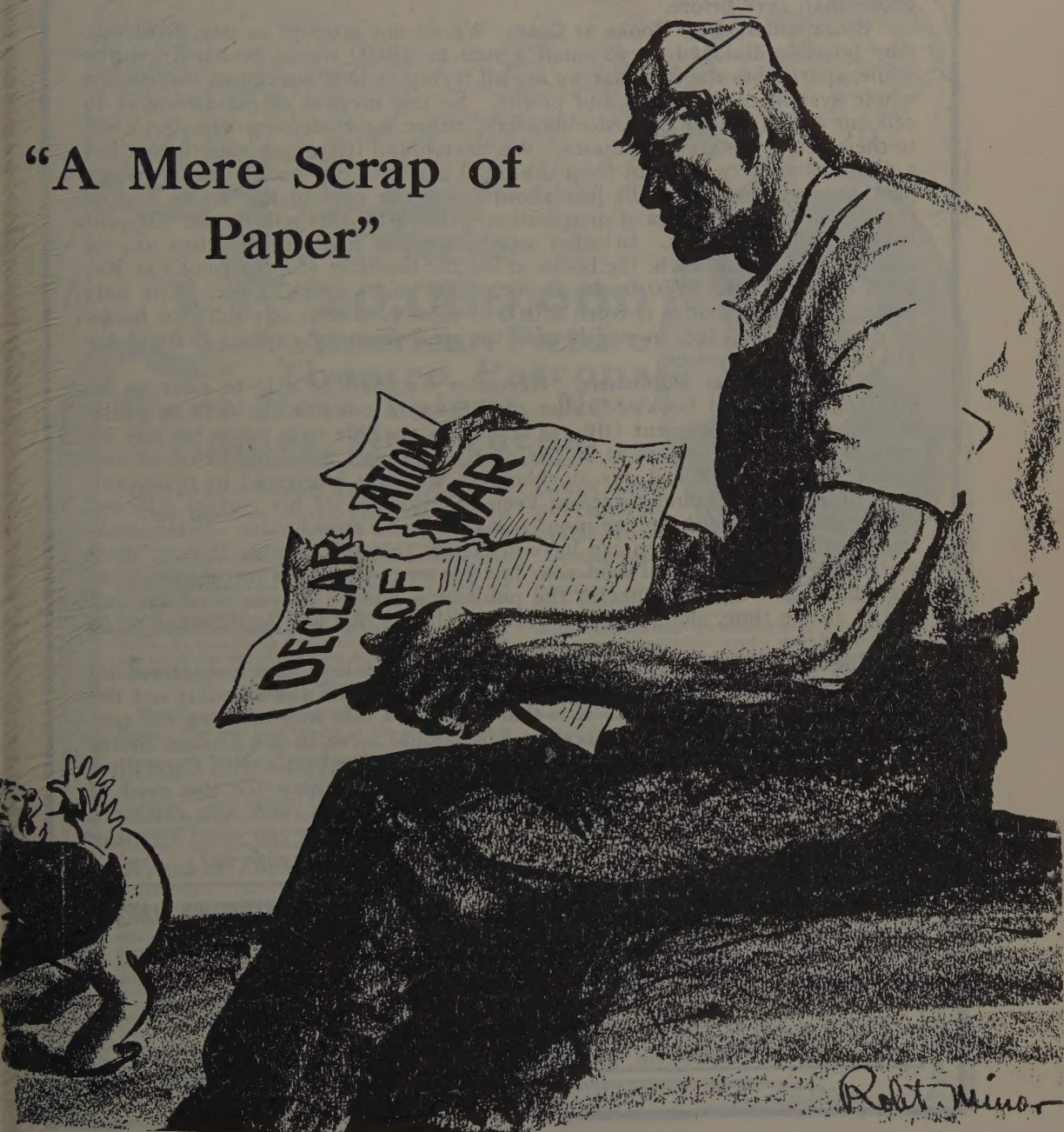
JULY, 1915

The

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No. 1

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DEPARTMENTS

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JULY, 1915

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A GROUP OF CHICAGO STREET CAR WORKERS WHO ENJOYED THEIR VACATION.

WHEN CHICAGO WALKED

ON THE morning of June 14 nobody among all the two and one-half million people who live in the city of Chicago could get a surface street car or an elevated railroad train down town or cross town. The car men were on strike. The 14,000 members of Division 241 of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America failed to come around and work for their wages that morning.

In a polite note to the street railway presidents they said it was necessary to have "a cessation of work," they were "sick and disgusted" of the kind of arbitration offered them, and they would keep on with the "cessation of work" until the street railway companies would agree to a real arbitration instead of a "hide-and-seek" arbitration.

Four hours after the strike order was issued Charles C. Healey, superintendent of

police, told newspaper men he would go before the city council finance committee that morning and ask for money to pay 1,000 extra policemen. Not a newspaper report or a town rumor had whispered of violence. Nonetheless Chief Healey went before the finance committee and laid out these figures on what he wanted: 1,000 revolvers, 50,000 cartridges, 1,000 clubs and belts, salaries for 1,000 special policemen, money for two meals per day for 6,000 men. Total, \$450,000.

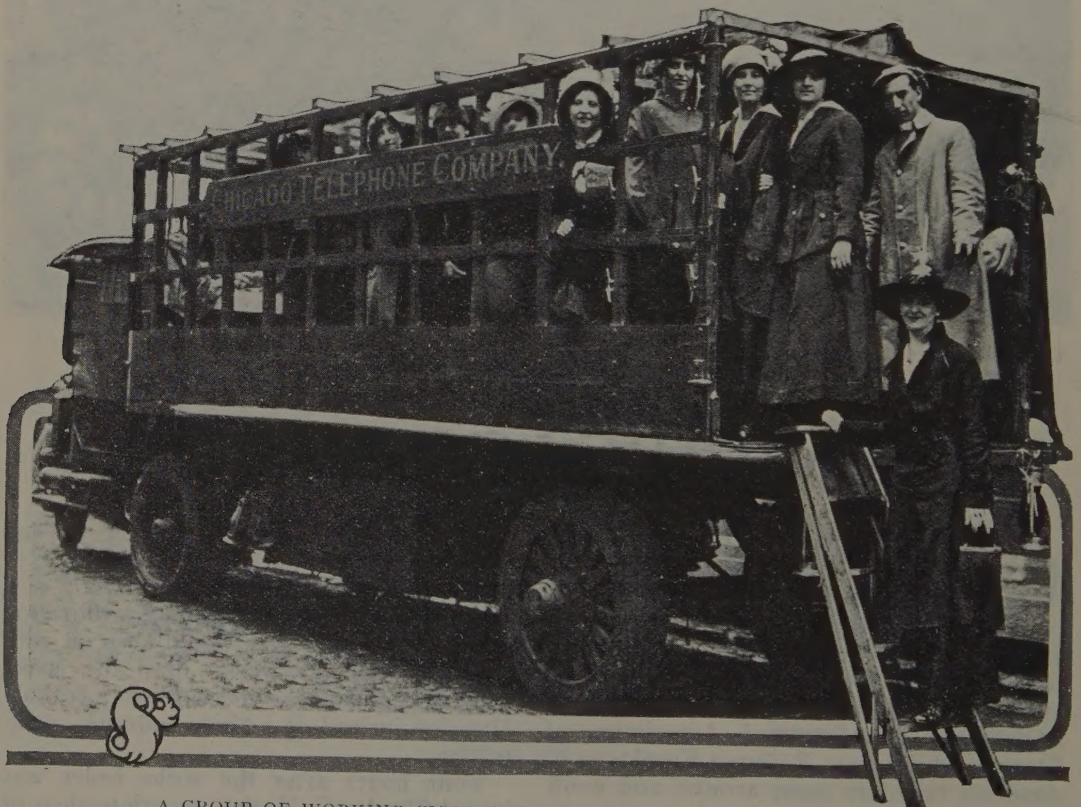
Never in any American city has there been a clearer exhibition of police desire for violence, and police willingness to meet violence. All the squads of newspaper men and corporation spotters searching the city of Chicago that day were not able to cite one instance of violence. The 4,000 regular policemen and detectives were under strict orders from Chief Healey to arrest and hurry to the lock-up any union man who was apparently violating the law, but were unable to find one union man worth even trumping a charge against him. A few cars run by policemen and elevated

railway officials were not touched by the strikers. And on the basis of this showing, Chicago's police chief asked for 1,000 clubs, 1,000 revolvers and 50,000 cartridges.

Do you wonder why the police are accused of blood-thirsty manhandling and a joy in mauling heads, laying open scalps and plugging innocent citizens with bullets during strike times? Is there some reason for the theory that the average police chief in an American city has an itch to knock heads and order cops to shoot into crowds?

One item in Chief Healey's budget called for "Meals, two per day for 60 days, \$252,000." There has been no public or private explanation of what this was to be for. The only way the street car men could guess was that the city of Chicago out of public moneys was to pay for the meals of 6,000 imported gunmen and sluggers.

What did the finance committee do with this amazing request of the police chief? On a viva voce vote, they passed it. Then Alderman Charles E. Merriam demanded roll call. And it was beaten by 11 to 3,



A GROUP OF WORKING GIRLS GETTING A LIFT ON THE WAY HOME.

which means that in the present era of politics and American democracy, some so-called ward aldermen favor secretly slugging and shooting the working class, but hold back, if they must go on record about it before the voters.

Alderman William E. Rodriguez brought an ordinance into the city council that night. It said that no person could run as motorman on an elevated railway train unless he had twenty-one days of training under a competent instructor; nor act as motorman on a surface street car unless he had fourteen days training. Alderman De Priest, colored, protested: "I come from a peculiar people who have difficulty in obtaining employment. This ordinance is unfair to them." Rodriguez replied: "It is intended to do just that. We want to make it impossible if we can, by city ordinance, for any person to get a job running a street car in this town while the strike is on." The ordinance passed 57 to 10, which shows that aldermen listen to the labor vote during strike times.

Alderman John C. Kennedy discussed the ordinance and referred to Chief Healey's call for 1,000 revolvers and 50,000 cartridges. One Henry D. Capitain, known as a street railway alderman, said Kennedy was not "sane," and worse yet was "hysterical." Kennedy replied in even and positive voice: "I tell you we don't want to see workmen shot down in the streets of Chicago." When Capitain started to defend himself of the implied charge that he was accessory to the intended shooting of workers, he was hissed by the galleries so that he could not be heard.

Another ordinance of Rodriguez was framed to give the mayor power to seize and operate the street railways, pay the carmen their demands on wages and working hours, and so operate till the companies should make an agreement with the striking car men.

"You may call this confiscation or anything else you like," said Rodriguez, "This is a time when public convenience and necessity demand seizure and operation of these properties. If the Commonwealth Edison Company, our local lighting trust, should have a strike of its employees, what would we do? Would we go along with dark streets and no lights in our homes? No, we would take the plant and run it and light the city until the company made terms

with its employees. When an ice plant in Cincinnati was tied up by a strike in the hot weather of summer and the people were suffering for want of ice, Mayor Hunt seized the ice plant and operated it with the strikers until the company made terms with the strikers." The ordinance was beaten 62 to 4, which shows that confiscation isn't strong with the politicians. From the galleries, however, came a straight three minutes of tumultuous applause and cheers. The "mob" was almost a unit for a forcible seizure of the street railways.

Now notice how street railway presidents "respect the law." Though the city council went on record by 57 to 10 against importation of strikebreakers, the next day Leonard A. Busby, the \$65,000-a-year president of the Chicago City Railways Company, and Henry A. Blair, the \$50,000-a-year president of the Chicago Railways Co., went personally to Passenger Agent Hartigan of the Lake Shore Railway and paid \$15,000 in cash for 500 tickets at \$30 each for transportation of strikebreakers from New York and Philadelphia. Two trains of loads of strikebreakers were reported on the way to Chicago. At least \$60,000 merely for transportation of strikebreakers was paid—even though the assembled aldermen of Chicago had voted 57 to 10 against such action. Which shows that representative government is a piece of monkey-work so far as street railway presidents are concerned.

When the strike had been on about forty-eight hours, it was called off. The companies agreed that in arbitration they would produce their inside office account books, which were withheld in the arbitration of three years ago.

This left 2,000 stranded and hungry strikebreakers in Chicago without any strike to break. What happened to them? Well, for one thing, the newspapers didn't welcome them. The *Daily News* front page called them plug uglies, thieves, and thugs, and applauded the police for running them down to the Indiana state line. On an inside page, however, the *Daily News* had an editorial. It said the two Socialist aldermen in the council meeting two days before had played to the galleries, were "demagogues," and were "preposterous" in their behavior. Yet the cold fact is that the main action of the two Socialists was aimed at keeping strikebreakers, plug uglies

and thugs from coming to Chicago. Which shows that a strikebreaker is a good clean fellow until the strike is over and then he's a plug ugly and a thug and a thief in the eyes of a capitalist newspaper playing for circulation with a public standing by the strikers.

Two points about the Chicago car strike are worth notice. Every street car motor-man and conductor in Chicago was in on it. The solidarity of it amazed the city and the tie-up was complete. The elevated men's union joined hands with the surface car men's union. Their journal pointed to the joined capitalists who own both elevated and surface lines and said: "They are one; so are we."

Then, too, it showed the pass to which arbitration has come. Labor now must strike in order to get a real arbitration. Corporations hide their account books, insist on dictating who shall be the umpire, the "neutral," on arbitration boards, and by other acts make arbitration a game of bunk instead of actual judicial decision. So far have they developed the art of winning through arbitration that the Illinois Manufacturers' Association and other business organizations are calling for a compulsory arbitration law. The street car men say they know a trick about "cessation of work" that will give them the kind of arbitration they want, even if it's compulsory.

May First in Time of War

By FRANZ DIEDERICH, in Mayday Number of VORWAERTS

NO rest from work! No sounds of May!
Who thinks of festal joys today?
But as we march with faces set
The thought of May is with us yet.
Sharply he knocks at each heart's door:
"Open! Open!" He marches before
Our column clad in garb of spring
Waving a branch all blossoming:
"I am Peace!" his voice rings clear,
And not one asks, "What seeks he here?"
And each one answers Mayday's call,
"We have kept our faith in spite of all."
There is no shame, but tearfilled eyes
Gazing thru smoke to sunny skies.
There is no fear, no wavering:
"He shall lead us yet to the land of spring."

No rest from work! No glad May dance!
The world in blood, a bitter chance.
Peace is banished from our strand—
"To arms! To arms! O, Fatherland!"
Hammers ring from morn to night
Fashioning weapons for the fight.
Every village, every street,
Sounds to the tread of marching feet.
And you at whom I shoot—say,
Were we not comrades once in May?
And you, my friend, dead at my side,
Was't by an enemy's hand you died?
Shoulder to shoulder on May morn—
Friend, enemy, bruised and torn,

Faces pale, meeting fate;
Murder, murder, without hate!
Without our voice the die was cast
This one time more, and this the last.
And if today as foes we are meeting
Tomorrow shall see us in friendly greeting.
Then on this field drenched in blood
Shall we seal our brotherhood.
And May shall conquer land and sea;
Our dream shall be reality.

No rest from work! No springtime song!
But the spirit of May grows eager and strong
He calls no host o'er hill and dale,
Yet in men's hearts he will prevail.
He speaks in every rustling breeze;
He walks beneath the budding trees.
And to all who weary of anguish and fear
His voice comes swelling loud and clear:
"The time has come to plan and build;
The thought of May must be fulfilled."
And the word rolls on o'er plain and hill,
"The thought of May is the people's will."
Stones are yearning for the hammer's sound,
Towers of peace would rise from the ground!
The hands of the workers are ready for toil;
The plow stands waiting in fruitful soil!
Steeled to his work by fiery blast
The spirit of peace shall win at last.
Lead on along the upward way,
Our leader still, eternal May.

Translated by William E. Bohn.

The Rebuilding of the International

By ROSA LUXEMBURG

(Note.—In April Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring published the first number of a magazine called "The International." It proved to be also the last number, for the censor forbade its further publication. But many a journal has run on for years without printing as much interesting matter as was crowded between the covers of this one issue. Rosa Luxemburg's article was left unfinished, for she was hustled into jail before "The International" went to press. Karl Liebknecht was prevented from making his contribution; the recruiting officer laid his hands on him and sent him to a military labor camp. But the two editors, Clara Zetkin, and other brilliant and earnest comrades managed to set into this single number of their journal a fairly complete statement of the position of Germany's anti-war Socialists and a thorough-going criticism of the actions and theories of the war "Socialists." The following article is reprinted here because it shows what the real Socialists of Germany are thinking at the present time. There could be no better proof of the fundamental soundness of the international movement. Rosa Luxemburg and her fellow-workers are the very best of evidence to show that she is not entirely right when she says, "The International has broken down."—W. E. B.)

On August 4, 1914, the German Social Democracy handed in its political resignation, and on the same date the Socialist International went to pieces. All attempts to deny this fact or to conceal it merely serve to perpetuate the conditions which brought it about.

This breakdown is without a parallel in history. Socialism or imperialism—this is the alternative which summed up the political life of the various labor parties of the world during the past decade. In Germany especially it has formed the basis of countless programs, discussions and publications. One of the chief purposes of the Social Democracy has been the correct formulation of thought and sentiment with regard to this alternative.

With the outbreak of the war the word became flesh; the alternative changed from a historical tendency to a political situation. Face to face with this alternative as a fact the Social Democracy, which had been the first to recognize it and bring it to the consciousness of the working class, struck its sails and without a struggle conceded the victory to imperialism. Never before, since there has been a class-struggle, since there have been political parties, has there existed a party which, after fifty years of uninterrupted growth, after the attainment of a preeminent position of power, has thus by its own act within twenty-four hours wiped itself off the map.

The apologists for this act, Kautsky among them, maintain that the whole duty of Socialists in time of war is to remain

silent. Socialism, they say in effect, is a power for peace, not against war. But there is a logic of events which none can elude. The moment Socialists ceased to oppose war they became, by the stern logic of events, its supporters. The labor unionists who have discontinued their struggles for improved conditions, the women who have withdrawn from Socialist agitation in order to help minimize the horrors of war, and the Socialist party leaders who spend their time in the press and on the platform securing support for the government and suppressing every effort at criticism—all of these are not merely maintaining silence. They are supporting the war as heartily as any Conservative or Centrist. When and where was there ever a war which could exhibit a similar spectacle?

Where and when was the disregard of all constitutional rights accepted with such submissiveness? Where was there ever such glorification by an opposition party of the strictest censorship of the press? Never before did a political party sacrifice its all to a cause against which it had sworn again and again to sacrifice its last drop of blood. The mighty organization of the Social Democracy, its much praised discipline, gave the best proof of themselves in the fact that four millions of human beings allowed themselves to be hitched to the war chariot at the command of a handful of parliamentarians. The half-century of preparation on the part of the Socialist party comes to fruition now in this war. All our education of the masses makes them now the obedient and effective servants of

the imperialist state. Marx, Engels and Lassalle, Liebknecht, Bebel and Singer trained the German proletariat in order that Hindenburg may lead it.

II.

Our official theorists are not without an explanation of this phenomenon. They are perfectly willing to explain the slight disagreement between their actions of today and their words of yesterday. Their apology is that "although the Social Democracy has concerned itself much with the question as to what should be done to prevent war it has never concerned itself with the problem as to what should be done after the beginning of hostilities. Ready to do everybody's bidding, this theory assures us that the present practice of our party is in the most beautiful harmony with our past theories. The delightfully adaptable theory is likewise ready and willing to justify the present position of international Socialism in reference to its past. The International treated only the question of the prevention of war. But now, "war is a fact," and, as it turns out, after the outbreak of war Socialists are to be guided by entirely new principles. After war has actually begun the great question for each proletariat is: Victory or defeat? Or, as an "Austro-Marxist" explains, a nation, like any other organism, must preserve its existence. In plain language this means: The proletariat has not one fundamental principle as scientific Socialism heretofore maintained, but two, one for peace and another for war. In time of peace, we are to suppose, the workers are to take cognizance of the class-struggle within the nation and of international solidarity in relation to other countries; in time of war, on the other hand, class-solidarity becomes the dominant feature of internal affairs and the struggle against the workers of other countries dominates the proletarian view of foreign relations. To the great historic appeal of the Communist manifesto is added an important amendment and it reads now, according to Kautsky's revision: "Workers of all lands unite in peace and cut one another's throats in war!" Today, "Down with the Russians and French!" tomorrow, "We are brothers all!" For, as Kautsky says in *Die Neue Zeit*, the International is "essentially an instrument of peace," but "no effective agent in war."

This convenient theory introduces an

entirely novel revision of the economic interpretation of history. Proletarian tactics before the outbreak of war and after must be based on exactly opposite principles. This presupposes that social conditions, the bases of our tactics, are fundamentally different in war from what they are in peace. According to the economic interpretation of history as Marx established it, all history is the history of class-struggles. According to Kautsky's revision, we must add: except in times of war. Now human development has been periodically marked by wars. Therefore, according to this new theory, social development has gone on according to the following formula: a period of class-struggles, marked by class solidarity and conflicts within the nations; then a period of national solidarity and international conflicts—and so on indefinitely. Periodically the foundations of social life as they exist in time of peace are reversed by the outbreak of war. And again, at the moment of the signing of a treaty of peace, they are restored. This is not, evidently, progress by means of successive "catastrophes;" it is rather progress by means of a series of somersaults. Society develops, we are to suppose, like an iceberg floating down a warm current; its lower portion is melted away, it turns over, and continues this process indefinitely.

Now all the known facts of human history run straight counter to this new theory. They show that there is a necessary and dialectic relation between class-struggle and war. The class-struggle develops into war and war develops into the class-struggle; and thus their essential unity is proved. It was so in the medieval cities, in the wars of the Reformation, in Flemish wars of liberation, in the French Revolution, in the American Rebellion, in the Paris Commune, and in the Russian uprising in 1905.

Moreover, theoretically Kautsky's idea leaves not one stone of the Marxian doctrine on another. If, as Marx supposes, neither war nor the class-struggle falls from heaven, but both arise from deep social-economic causes, then they cannot disappear periodically unless their causes also go up in vapor. Now the proletarian class-struggle is a necessary aspect of the wage system. But during war the wage system does not tend to disappear. On the contrary, the aspects of it which give rise

to the struggle of the classes become especially prominent. Speculation, the founding of new companies to carry on war industries, military dictatorship—all these and other influences tend to increase the class differences during time of war. And likewise the class rule of the bourgeoisie is not suspended; on the contrary, with the suspension of constitutional rights it becomes sheer class dictatorship. If, then, the causes of the class-struggle are multiplied, strengthened, during war how can their inevitable result be supposed to go out of existence? Conversely, wars are at the present time a result of the competition of various capitalist groups and of the necessity for capitalist expansion. Now, these two forces are not operative only while the cannon are booming; they are active in peace as well, and it is precisely in time of peace that they influence our life in such a way as to make the outbreak of war inevitable. For war is, as Kautsky loves to quote from Clausewitz, "the continuation of politics with other means." And the imperialist phase of capitalist rule, through competition in building of armaments, has made peace illusory, for it has placed us regularly under military dictatorship and has thereby made war permanent.

Therefore our revised economic interpretation of history leads to a dilemma. Our new revisionists are between the devil and the sea. Either the class-struggle persists in war as the chief life condition of the proletariat and the declaration of class harmony by Socialist leaders is a crime against the working class; or carrying on the class-struggle in time of peace is a crime against the "interests of the nation" and the "security of the fatherland." Either class-struggle or class-harmony is the fundamental factor in our social life both in peace and war.

Either the International must remain a heap of ruins after the war or its resurrection will take place on the basis of the class-struggle from which it took its rise in the first place. It will not reappear by magic at the playing over of the old tunes which hypnotized the world before August 4. Only by definitely recognizing and disowning our own weaknesses and failures since August 4, by giving up the tactics introduced since that time, can we begin the rebuilding of the International. And the first step in this direction is agitation for the ending of the war and the securing of peace on the basis of the common interests of the international proletariat.



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A CLASS OF WOMEN RECEIVING INSTRUCTION IN ORDER THAT THEY MAY BECOME TROLLEY CONDUCTORS IN BERLIN.



SCENE ON A WESTERN SHEEP RANCH IN WYOMING. A BAND USUALLY NUMBERS 3,000 HEAD.

THE SHEEP-HERDER

The Worker Who Makes Your Mutton Chops

By HARRISON GEORGE

AMONG the ancients the tending of the flocks was considered an important and elevated pursuit. The menial drudgery of the fields and the household was delegated to man's supposed inferior—woman. She was the "hewer of wood and the drawer of water" while the patriarch assumed the lofty duty of care-taker of the herds.

Holy Writ is full of sheep and goats as well as of miracles and murder, all important and profitable pastimes of that period. Even through feudalism the shepherd was held in esteem above the plow-man while the poets of the middle ages and later have

bequeathed our libraries thousands of verses of nonsense anent the happy, romantic life of the shepherd.

So much so that the modern sheep-herder, no longer the romantic shepherd, in perusing a borrowed book in the shade of a clump of sage brush on the American range today, spits viciously at a tiny sand lizard and mutters much profanity into his tangled whiskers. Lost like the flower's fragrance "on the desert air."

Developing capitalism has enlarged the position of the manufacturer and trader above that of the formerly important sheep grower, etc., he losing in social estimation

in direct proportion to his lessening economic importance. Also on this continent the ever narrowing area of free range land and the increasing amount of capital necessary to enter the field have, altogether, divorced the herder from the ownership of the sheep he herds and from the romance of his calling.

He is now a common wage slave with a dirty, lonesome job, and all the poems ever written cannot prevail against his discontent that ebbs and flows with the distracting, incessant "baa-baa-baa" chorus of three thousand dusty, stinking "woolies."

Not many years back the sheep men and the cattle men fought desperate battles for range rights all over the west. Many a sheep-herder in those days bedded down his band at sunset and rolled up in his blankets not knowing but that during the night a volley of lead would finish him while the band would be slaughtered and stampeded over a cliff with yells and shots from the cattle raiders. Strenuous times for the sheep-herder, resulting in a commensurate wage scale, as not all men were willing to take the risk. But today it is more peaceable, as the conflicting forces have established separate ranges with dead-lines over which no sheep must pass.

In recent years broken-down professors of algebra and Greek, consumptive clerks and fugitives from factory life, all having in mind the beautiful verses of the poets, have come west to compete with illiterate Europeans and Mexicans in herding sheep. This is, of course, readily reflected in the pay check. Where in past years the scale ran from sixty to seventy-five dollars per month, it is now from thirty to fifty dollars. Both with "grub" furnished.

As a result of low pay the herder slackens care of the band. In charge of approximately fifteen thousand dollars' worth of property, many herders will lose from eight to twelve per cent where during years of higher pay herders lost only from two to six per cent of the sheep. Now if a couple of "woolies" get into quick-sand or mire the herder complacently walks on; if a coyote wants mutton some night he will not leave his blankets to interfere nor quit his camp-fire to round up the band in a blizzard. Why should he trouble himself and risk freezing for his boss's profits?

The herder is always on duty. With care of the band constantly in mind he must

turn out at daybreak and cook his own flap-jacks, sow-belly and coffee over the sage brush camp-fire. Often he has no noon meal, sometimes munching a bacon sandwich carried in his pocket since the dawn, as he wearily follows the band through the desolate hills. At sun-down after watering and bedding down the band, he must prepare supper. A monotonous diet of canned goods, salt meat and prunes garnished with dirt and flies and devoured in silence. At night his dogs keep watch as he courts Morpheus and fights mosquitoes under his dusty tarpaulin, jumping up at call of the dogs to fight off the sheep-killing coyotes with an ever-handly Winchester.

Alternately subject to the extremes of heat and cold of the high deserts, he ranges in summer far into the mountain fastnesses, coming down with the snow which covers the shorter grasses; while in the winter he herds near the home ranch, to which he drives the band with all speed should a blizzard set in, hay being kept at the ranch to save the sheep from starvation when deep snow covers the range land.

Living a miserable, lonely existence, visited only by the camp-tender bringing supplies, under-paid, ill-fed, un-housed, unkempt of beard and clothing, this de-socialized being is enviously gazed at from car window and tourist auto by many an eastern "dude" seeking romance and adventure in the great west.

Perhaps the reader may have seen from a car window as the train rushed swiftly through the Rocky Mountain region peculiar piles of flat rocks standing sentinel-like atop of butte and canyon rim watching over the solitudes. These are "sheep-monuments," piled up by the herder to guide him in the vasty deserts where fogs and blizzards confuse and distance to water must be kept in mind.

An exile from social life for months on end the sheep-herder is prone to excessive dissipation when he hits the western towns where smug-faced merchants compete with saloon and brothel to fleece him. This same merchant coolly sends him to jail when his wad is gone and he asks "two bits" for a meal.

Insanity and a peculiar mental stupor afflict many herders while the "spotted fever" carried by the bites of sage-ticks means almost certain death. Mental troubles result perhaps from loneliness and sexual pervers-



A TRAPPED COYOTE.

sion with minor causes, although herders stoutly contend that factory made blankets so scantily measured that they compel the sleeper to get up fifty times a night to turn them about trying to find the long way,

plays an important part. This does not appear humorous to them either.

As a social unit he is anathematized and he and his job sneeringly referred to as being as low as a man can get. All told his social and economic treatment is resulting in a nascently rebellious frame of mind. What he may do, this dusty proletarian of the west, is an open question. His position precludes initiative action in the war of the classes. But without a doubt he will stand by his class if put to trial.

There is an ancient legend of some shepherds' gladness on the hills of Palestine when they saw a brilliant star that was said to token the arrival of a Messiah, and I can truthfully say it is no myth that thousands of sheep herding workers in the west today will eagerly welcome the star that rises out of the east, the star that hails the coming of a real and material Messiah—SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM—THE HOPE OF THE WORLD.

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Conferring THE DOUBLE CROSS on Rail Engineers and Firemen

THE Double Cross has at last been conferred upon the engineers and firemen of ninety-eight western railroads of the United States by the arbitration board which has been in session for six months at the Federal Building in Chicago, the final act of a controversy between the railroads and the men, that started in October, 1913. The only thing needed to make this farce comedy complete would have been to add a few strains of music from a funeral march. But after all, nothing could have happened that would better serve the interests and further the cause of the railroad workers of the United States. For my part personally, if I met Charles Nagle on the street I would feel like going up, taking him by the hand, and saying, "You have conferred the greatest favor on railroad men, and also you have accomplished for us something that we have failed to accomplish for ourselves by hard work in the past twenty years, that is, you have solidified all of the railroad men in spirit and this has been our great failing in the past."

This act of the arbitration board has been the final blow to all methods that have been used in the past by the capitalist class to defeat the railroad workers of this country. The capitalists in this case have made the fatal mistake that the ruling class have always made in the past, that is, they have become so arrogant that they have even refused to grant the men a few crumbs, and that is about all the engineers and firemen really ask for. This controversy has settled one thing forever, as far as the railroad men are concerned—never again will they be silenced by injunctions, mediation boards, arbitration boards or legislation or even by the "friendly aid" (?) of a President of the United States.

Every possible means has been exhausted

by us except one and that is the use of our economic strength in the industrial field, and that means for us to tie up the railroads by leaving the field until a settlement is made and that, too, without a compromise, for we have nothing more to compromise. We have been doing nothing but compromising and losing for twenty years. Our wages have been gradually reduced since 1896. Now let us see how this has been accomplished:

The railroads make their charges on freight by the weight, per cwt. or per ton; we handled trains in 1896 that averaged about five hundred tons, car and contents, for each day of ten hours or one hundred miles. The engineer received \$3.85 per day, conductors received \$3.00, firemen \$2.50 and brakemen \$2.00. From then on the greed of the railroad corporations began to assert itself. They began to add to the burden by adding to each train 100 tons at a time. They raised the tonnage to 800 tons and no extra pay; then they raised the tonnage to 1,000 tons with extra pay; then they raised the tonnage to 1,200 tons without extra pay. With this added tonnage there was an increase of responsibility, added work, longer hours and more dangerous conditions, and at this time a few cents was added to the pay of the men. Then we were increased to 1,500 tons, but even this did not satisfy the greed of the railroads, and we were increased to 2,000 tons, and that is about the average train tonnage in the United States today, although there are some divisions on some of the railroads that are handling 3,000 tons.

Many other divisions are handling 5,000 tons, and with one engine on the Erie railroad they hauled a test train of 17,500, or thirty-seven crews being displaced by one.

Now then, if the railroads had played fair with the men, let us see what they

could have done: While they were hauling 500 tons per train they were making money, paying dividends and wages. They had already their right-of-way, rails, ties, depots, freight houses, terminals, business tracks, etc., with all of this added work to the men, they required no new operators or agents or section men, or any added expense whatever. It is true they were required to buy more and larger engines, and this is about the only extra expense they were put to, but why should the men be penalized for the prosperity of the railroads?

For example: A drayman was doing a good business with a team of horses and a wagon, and as his business increased he tied an extra dray behind dray number one, without hiring any new help or buying another team of horses, and when business further increased he tied dray number three behind dray number one and number two without buying another team of horses or hiring any new help, and when business picked up sufficiently to warrant the buying of the fourth dray without an added purchase of a team of horses or extra men, collected the same freight as though he had had four teams. Then suppose he would plead poverty and use his prosperity as his excuse for his poverty. That is exactly what the railroads are now doing in the United States, with not only the men but the public as well.

Now then, if the railroads had granted an increase of wages to their men in proportion to their increased earning capacity they now could be paying engineers \$17.40 per day and \$12.00 to conductors, \$10.00 to firemen, \$8.00 to brakemen, \$10.00 to the yardmen, \$5.00 to section men, \$240.00 per month to agents, \$200.00 to operators, and so on through all the list of railroad employes. Now where has all this money gone? The railroads were valued at about nine billion dollars in 1896; today they are carrying stock and bonds to the amount of twenty billion dollars, and this addition of eleven billion dollars has been put on the railroads to absorb this added increased earning of the men in the past twenty years.

Now we employes must take back that which has been stolen from us, and the only way we can get it back is to organize one BIG UNION for one BIG STRIKE. And how must we proceed with a strike? There is only one way and that is we must all get together and do away with the present

scale of wages which is more or less BUNK, such as preparatory time, terminal time, short runs and all the various branches of service into which we are divided and which keep us split up and keep us trimmed.

Our demands must be as follows:

DEMAND No. 1. Shorter hours.

DEMAND No. 2. Double time for overtime.

DEMAND No. 3. A minimum guarantee of thirty days per month.

DEMAND No. 4. In the event of a strike, all men who remain in service during that time must be displaced after the strike is over.

DEMAND No. 5. All disputes arising between the men and the company must be referred to a committee of three, two selected by the men and one by the company.

The necessity for Demand No. 5 is one of the most essential to our protection and is the only just way of settling disputes for so-called delinquencies for the men, for who knows better than the men themselves how to handle such cases? The men who are now handling these cases have not the training or experience that would enable them to justly treat with the men.

This will suspend all rules made by the companies that do not treat the men fairly but are merely used as agencies to get an individual who, not through any inability or inefficiency on his part, has incurred the displeasure of the officials.

That is what the present system of discipline is used for. I have seen but a very small percentage of discipline used against the men but what there was hatred and vengeance behind the act. Also it is used for the purpose of keeping the men in servility and subjection and picking the pockets of the money that should rightfully go to the families of the men. The real burden of the present system of discipline is carried by innocent and defenseless women and children. They are those who have never harmed a railroad corporation or whom the petty officials have never seen or come in contact with.

Now what will be the best method to carry on a strike? First, we must collectively decide upon the terms and then next we must vote to strike. We must then select a time, different from any we have selected in the past, a time when the tem-

perature is about zero and the snow is about to the waist line, and then strike. After we strike we will then make our demands and go in and lay them on the general manager's desk and then go home and take the old lady's "Fireside Companion" and start to read and forget that there ever was such a thing as work in the world. Before leaving the general manager's office, tell him that we have nothing to arbitrate, that we won't compromise and after they have complied with all of our demands, they may send for us, and this, when we use our power, will be the simplest thing in the world.

Why simple? Let us analyze what it means to tie up the railroads of the United States. Today the railroads are the heart and life-blood of our nation. Every industry, mine, mill, factory have adjusted their lives to the railroads until now the people are literally eating out of box cars. Take previous to twenty years ago, the railroads didn't play a very important part in the daily lives of the people. Twenty years ago there was a slaughter-house backed up to every city and hamlet in the United States. The people were supplied with their meat directly from the field to the table of the customer. The railroads played no part in supplying the meat to this nation. But now this is all changed. All of the cattle, hogs and sheep are loaded daily and are sent into the packing-house district, are slaughtered and they in turn are then distributed all over the country.

Also the merchandise twenty years ago was supplied to the local merchants every sixty days. If anything then happened to the railroads the people paid but very little attention to their inactivities or the silencing of them. Wholesale traveling men that used to visit their customers every sixty days changed to thirty days and then to fifteen days, and now the wholesaler is visiting the local merchant every week. The supply that used to be kept on hand is now diminished from sixty days to seven days. This is also true of fuel and all other commodities that people use in their daily lives. Now what do you imagine would happen

to this nation if all of us railroad workers would suddenly paralyze the means of transportation? I can give you a good example of what would happen.

A year ago in February, Denver, Colorado, was visited with a snow storm, tying up all traffic, and what happened there? It was necessary in four days to declare martial law to keep people from killing one another for the want of food. Now, then, a general strike of all the railroads would mean nothing more than a big snow storm to the country. Our brothers on the D. & H. gave us a good example of what solidarity can accomplish when they carried on a strike of twenty-four hours and won a complete victory.

Let me call your attention to President Underwood of the Erie Railroad who says in part: "The government ownership of railroads would be a most dangerous thing for the country on account of solidifying the men and then they would demand and would have the power to get their demands. The engineer would demand \$5,000.00 per year the same as the lawyer who rides in the coach behind."

We railroad workers hold the most strategic position of any group of workers in the world. Everything that is being used in the way of food stuffs, shelter and clothing and all articles that are manufactured, are handled by the railroads from one to six times, from the producer to the consumer. Now it does not require much of a vision or wide stretch of imagination to see what power we have if we wish to use it and if we do not use it we should immediately stop talking about our poor working conditions and low wages. And our working conditions are the worst of any class of workers in America. We work nights, Sundays, holidays, at the most dangerous work and at the least compensation, considering our service to society. On account of these conditions we are barred from any social or home life, therefore we have more to struggle for and have also the right to resort to any method that will restore us to a condition that will be something near human.



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FRANK P. WALSH, CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED STATES INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION.

THE TWO MR. ROCKEFELLERS—AND MR. WALSH

By CARL SANDBURG

THE Rockefeller family stays year after year in a fierce white light of publicity. Year after year one thing or another happens and again the finger of accusation is pointed at the Rockefellers and they are driven to defense.

In 1894, Henry Demarest Lloyd pointed to John D. Rockefeller as a thief and the Standard Oil crowd as thieves, pirates and liars. And Lloyd gave out a big thick book packed with a mass of evidence to back up the charge that John D. Rockefeller got his start and held his power by methods of thief and liar.

In 1901, Ida Tarbell's History of the Standard Oil Company was begun. And when her facts were collected and conclusions drawn and the indictment stated, everybody who read the history knew again that John D. Rockefeller is a thief and a liar, that he played a merciless business game, hit below the belt, slugged in the dark, and stole his millions by operating through crews of clever lieutenants, and yet was himself the man guilty as the head conspirator.

In 1907, Judge Kenesaw M. Landis levied a fine of \$29,000,000 on the Rocke-

feller Standard Oil Company because that company by and through methods approved by John D. Rockefeller was a law breaker, and in gum-shoe style, after the manner of a cowardly back-alley robber, was stabbing rivals in the back.

In 1908, the yellow journalist who has now entered the service of Rockefeller then rendered a large publicity service. William Randolph Hearst in a campaign to put his Independent party on the political map, read a series of letters copied by photography from the letters stolen by a negro watchman from the vaults of the Standard Oil Company. And in these, John Archbold, the first lieutenant of John D. Rockefeller, is shown as a political corruptionist peddling thousands on thousands of dollars among hungry United States senators and congressmen and lobbyists in order to get the will of the Standard Oil Company done in the United States capitol at Washington.

In 1911, the Supreme Court of the United States formally "dissolved" the Standard Oil Company as a trust and ordered it to exist as a series of separate companies instead of one large company. And the event was used by John D. Rockefeller and a few close associates to hammer almost to nothing the shares of stock held by small stockholders. It resulted in what Albert Atwood, one of the best known accurate financial writers of New York, describes as "the greatest killing in Wall street." The lambs were slaughtered and their fleeces hung in the sun to dry. It was a clean-up of millions and is told in detail with all the evidence history asks, in an article by Albert Atwood in McClure's magazine about the time Standard Oil put its finishing stroke on the business of pitching Sam McClure out of the magazine game for keeps.

In 1914-1915, to jump several small chapters, a two-fisted Irishman from Kansas City, Mo., a lawyer of courage, intestines and democratic ideals, drew the two members of the Rockefeller family into the daylight and pointed a finger at them and asked questions. When he was through every citizen of these United States who listened to the questions and answers knew that the guilt of manslaughter rests on the Rockefeller family and their hands are red with the blood of murderers with responsibility as direct and certain as can be asked of



JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER.

facts and logic supplied to reasoning human creatures.

This one man, this lawyer from Kansas City, Mo., is hated more by the Rockefeller family than any other man in this country. They hate him because he broke through, battered down their guard, knocked away their cunning Standard Oil evasions, and got results. The name of this Kansas City lawyer is Frank P. Walsh. He is chairman of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations.

To the charge and the argument of Henry Demarest Lloyd that the name of Rockefeller is that of a thief, Walsh added an arraignment for murder.

To the Ida Tarbell incriminations of Rockefeller as thief and liar, Walsh added an arraignment for the killing of women and children.

To the pile of proof which shows the Rockefellers double-crossing stockholders in Standard Oil and crushing all rivals by cunning and ruthless tactics, Walsh added the new charge that this Baptist family, for all its millions handed out to churches and

the cross and Jesus, works in secrecy to beat down the organizations of labor unions even to the extent of using thugs and drunken soldiers to burn women and children to death.

In the two examinations of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., as a witness before the commission in 1914, Walsh kept a fairly calm behavior and the young heir to America's billionaire felt fairly easy. But in the final examination held in Washington in May Walsh turned loose. He grappled and clinched. He threw to the winds all judicial poise, ethics of profession, and courtesies of gentlemen. He roughed it. He stood up to the solemn-faced, crafty young billionaire-to-be in just the same style that Frank P. Walsh cross-examines, jams and mauls a witness in a Kansas City murder trial. The words and manner of Walsh toward the son of America's richest multi-millionaire practically said:

"You helped in the murder of the women and children at Ludlow. You could have stopped the drunken gunmen and thugs. You knew what sort of a crew of red, bloody-handed sluggers, robbers,

and desperadoes there were in the employ of Sheriff Jeff Farr. Your letters to Welborn and Bowers and your Colorado Fuel & Iron Company officers show you knew what was going on all the time and there wasn't a day went by but you had full reports on everything doing. You knew about the hire of murderers. Come across. This is where you don't get away with soft talk or a bum memory or a slack wit. Try to come clean for once. This is the way I work when I'm trying to unscrew the lips of a coniving, conspiring participant in a dirty job of killing decent people."

The commission of which Walsh is chairman was appointed "to investigate the causes of industrial unrest." Walsh says after two years of traveling from coast to coast and examining 1,000 witnesses in public hearings and 10,000 through a staff of investigators, that the most powerful control of jobs and money in this country centers in the hands of the Rockefeller family--and nobody is going to find immediate and personal causes of industrial unrest except by searching the Rockefeller family.

This is the big fact that lay at the bottom of the clash between the Kansas City lawyer and the Sunday school teacher from Tarrytown, N. Y., those days they clashed in May, and the formal, precise officials of governmental Washington sat up and blinked their eyes and wondered why a man should behave like a human being instead of an oyster.

What Frank P. Walsh did was to smash the Rockefeller, Jr., myth. The young man Rockefeller was coming along nicely, boosted by press agent stories and by the kindness of newspapers and magazines that want the advertising of business interests close to the Rockefellers. The foxiness, duplicity and treachery that attached to old man Rockefeller, Sr., was not at all definitely connected with the young man Rockefeller, Jr. He was different, modern, and not a chip of the old block.

The old man stood for spies, secrecy, double-dealing and double-crossing. To his enemies, he never blinked an eye if it was necessary to drive them to bankruptcy and business death or suicide and physical death.

Now the young man, the full blooded son of the old man, the junior who will carry the senior's name when the senior is



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JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR. sluggers, robbers,

laid away in a mausoleum,—the young man for all his college education and his roles as sociologist and philanthropist stands branded and known as the same ruthless, cruel type of the American business man as his father, John D. Rockefeller, Sr.

If anything the hatred and bitterness against John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in this country today is a fiercer and deeper feeling than any toward the old man. The senior made his worst enemies among the small capitalists and the middle class people whom he broke and drove out of the oil game. But the junior Rockefeller has earned the living scorn of every last fraction of that part of the working class of America which is in some form organized and alive.

Besides an established record for cunning, ruthless, cruel handling of men who refuse to obey him, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is a living likeness of his father, a sure chip of the old block, in the secrecy of his operating methods.

The old man always worked through agents, high-priced gum-shoe men with which he surrounded himself. He had John D. Archbold to sling out the slush money among United States senators and congressmen, and to plant spies and pussyfoot tattle-tales among bookkeepers and salesmen of rival oil companies and in railroad and bank offices. So young Rockefeller had Starr J. Murphy and Jerome D. Lee around him to run errands to Colorado at the time Sheriff Jeff Farr swore in 300 deputy sheriffs, picked chiefly from slums, jails and tenderloin districts.

And as John D., Sr., had one Prof. George Gunton go into magazines and newspapers with attacks on Henry Demarest Lloyd's book, "Wealth Against Commonwealth," so John D., Jr., has a modern press agent, Ivy L. Lee (now nicknamed Poison Ivy Lee), to go out to Colorado and prepare and circulate a pamphlet filled with figures so clearly faked that Lee, when questioned before the commission, could not clear himself of the charge of faking.

That John D. Rockefeller is the same sort of surreptitious squirrel as his father is nowhere more clearly shown than in his use of Poison Ivy Lee for a press agent. Lee wrote a pamphlet sent to all newspapers, colleges, libraries and important public officials in the United States. It was titled "The Truth About Colorado." It

stated that Mother Jones and Frank J. Hayes had received certain moneys from the United Mine Workers for service during nine weeks. Questioned by Walsh, Poison Ivy Lee admitted the pay was for one year instead of nine weeks and shoved the responsibility, passed the buck, on to President Welborn of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company. Young Rockefeller has his errand boys pass the buck along just as old man Rockefeller did.

In the gift of silence and a bum memory, Father Oil-Czar has nothing on his natural born kid. The kid can keep secrets and clamp a lid on his mouth.

In the days when the old man was the terrible Headless Horseman of the Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia oil fields, he was known for the way he could say the words, "I decline to answer." The Egyptian sphinx is a garrulous old gossip compared with John D., Sr. A picture of his face laid alongside a photograph of an Assyrian mummy shows two of a kind. And now the young fellow comes along. He has, of course, talked a lot more than his father. He has talked about white slavery, about Jesus and the New Testament, about the Rockefeller foundation and the good to come of Rockefeller charities,—but he has said nothing. He has told the great waiting world, wondering about his head and heart and soul, no more than the old man. Frank P. Walsh put some straight questions to him and he had a chance to go on record as a real guy, a living, red-blooded human entity. Instead, he crawfished, stuck his head into one hole and out of another and sometimes crept and sometimes jumped but always moved in zigzags.

"Would you remove from his official position a man in the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company who was deliberately cheating the workingmen in the weighing of coal those workmen had mined?" Walsh asks Rockefeller.

"I would do what I thought right. I would consider it carefully and then act as I thought best."

"When you knew that Ivy Lee sent out a published bulletin containing false statements to the injury of labor union officials, why did you retain him in service?"

"I believe in the integrity of Mr. Lee and I have no doubt he can give a proper explanation for any acts which he may have

performed in the pursuit of his official duty."

Never a straight answer, never the forthright reply of an honest man living in daylight with no fear of his chief official deeds being questioned. Always the roundabout, tentative reply of a rat nosing around a hunk of cheese on a wire.

And sometimes in that Washington hearing, the scene shifted from a light vaudeville sketch into a graveyard masque. This one piece from the official record of the hearing might stand as a good example of the smeary, wandering answers of young Rockefeller to pointed and honest questions:

Chairman Walsh—You made one public statement in which you said, as I recollect it, that the persons that lost their lives at Ludlow were not shot. They were smothered?

Mr. Rockefeller—The persons that lost their lives underneath the floor of the tent.

Chairman Walsh—Well, you made no mention in that statement, or reference, to those that lost their lives by bullets and the like?

Mr. Rockefeller—I don't recall whether I did or not.

Chairman Walsh—Don't you recall what you wrote?

Mr. Rockefeller—I do not.

Chairman Walsh—Why, you just wrote that about two weeks ago and sent it out publicly, saying that those who lost their lives at Ludlow—

Mr. Rockefeller (interrupting)—In the pit.

Chairman Walsh—In the pit, you say now, were smothered. You remember saying that?

Mr. Rockefeller—Yes, sir.

Chairman Walsh—Did you make reference to those who lost their lives by bullets?

Mr. Rockefeller—I don't recall that I did.

Chairman Walsh—Did you intend not to make that public in connection with your statement to the public in regard to the loss of life there?

Mr. Rockefeller—I did not, no. The emphasis has always been put upon the women and children killed in the ground, and the point was to state that the report to us by people who should know was that they were smothered, and not struck.

Chairman Walsh—Did the reports that you got show that they were burned? That the arm of one of the women fell off—that the flesh fell off the bodies in taking them out?

Mr. Rockefeller—I don't recall that. It might have been true.

Chairman Walsh—Did you read the coroner's inquest?

Mr. Rockefeller—No.

Chairman Walsh—You did not read the account of the testimony any place?

Mr. Rockefeller—No.

Chairman Walsh—And you have not yet?

Mr. Rockefeller—No.

Chairman Walsh—Well, don't you think that you ought to read that to determine—you say hereafter you are going to try to have things better. Shouldn't you read that to determine what the facts are and what part your executive officers

took in bringing on the train of incidents, we will say, that culminated in Ludlow? Don't you think you ought to know that, Mr. Rockefeller?

Mr. Rockefeller—Well, I think so long as I am undertaking to do the things that I think should be done I shall have to reserve the right to do them in the ways that seem to be best.

This is the young man who hired Abraham Flexner to write from first-hand study in American and European cities the most thorough work that has yet been written on white slavery and the working class girls that go from department stores and factories to the redlight districts for money and clothes.

This is the young man who directed a study of the hookworm disease in the southern states, whose charities and benefactions were told in tall type in many newspapers.

And this is the young man surrounded by soft-handed, long-headed, high-salaried lawyers, preachers and newspaper men and they are staging the young man and throwing a white spotlight on him and fixing him out for the public eye to be something he is not.

Ida Tarbell once wrote of the Rockefellers under the caption of "Commercial Machiavellianism" and she traced how Standard Oil follows today the method of the ancient Italian prince who believed in poison and the stiletto for your enemies—but always with a smile, with hands raised ready to bless.

"The velvet glove over a steel fist"—that's the Rockefeller family. That's the old man. And that's the young one. The compressed bitterness of it has not been told better than by John R. Lawson, now convicted of a murder he was twelve miles distant from at the time it happened. At the New York hearing Lawson analyzed this personal economic power which embodies today as nothing else does all the covert, left-handed stealings and killings of the capitalist system of industry. Lawson said:

"Health for China, a refuge for birds, food for the Belgians, pensions for New York widows, university training for the elect—and never a thought or a dollar for thousands of men, women and children who starved in Colorado, for the widows robbed of husbands, for the children robbed of fathers. There are thousands of Mr. Rockefeller's employes in Colorado who wish to God they were in Belgium to be fed, or birds in Louisiana to be tenderly cared for.

"For more than ten years John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has been a director in the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, vested with what is virtually the

power of life and death over 12,000 men and their families. This power, let it be pointed out, came to him by no healthful process of struggle or achievement, but entirely through the fact that he was the son of his father.

"In those first days, when he might have been expected to possess a certain enthusiasm in his vast responsibilities, Colorado was shaken by the coal strike of 1903-04. It is a matter of undisputed record that a mercenary militia, paid openly by the mine owners, crushed this strike by the bold violation of every known constitutional right that the citizen was thought to possess.

"Men were herded in bull pens like cattle; homes were shattered. The writ of habeas corpus was suspended; hundreds were loaded on cars and dumped in the desert without food or water; others were driven over the snow of the mountain ranges.

"A governor elected by 15,000 majority was unseated. A man never voted for on that office was made governor, and when there came a thing called peace the blacklist gave 6,000 miners the choice of starvation or exile.

"The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company organized and led that attack on the liberties of freemen and yet you have heard from Mr. Rockefeller's own lips at this hearing that he never inquired into the causes of the strike, the conduct of his executives or the fate of those who were lost.

"Ten years passed and in 1913 Colorado is once more pushed to the verge of bankruptcy by another strike. Many strike-breakers of 1903, reaching the limit of human endurance, followed the example of those whose places they had taken, choosing hunger and cold in tents on the mountain side and plains in preference to a continuation of unbearable conditions in the mines.

"By actual count the union was supporting 21,508 men, women and children in the various colonies in January, 1914.

Asks What Rockefeller Did

"What course did Mr. Rockefeller pursue in connection with this upheaval of employees? His duty was clear, for he is on record with the admission:

"I think it is the duty of every director to ascertain the conditions as far as he can, and if there are abuses to right them."

"Putting the injustice to one side, the fact remains that we claimed many abuses and cited them specifically.

"The statute law of Colorado ordered a semi-monthly pay day, check weighmen so that we might not be cheated, the right to form unions, the eight-hour day and payment in cash, not script.

"We charged that the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company had violated these and other laws, and in addition we told of evil housing conditions, high rents, company store extortions, saloon environment, armed guards, and the denial of freedom in speech, education, religion and politics.

Didn't Know Even Grievances

"When 12,000 men back up such claims by taking their wives and children into wind-swept tents, surely they would seem to be deserving of consideration.

Yet upon the stand, throughout three whole days this week, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., insisted

that he was absolutely ignorant of every detail of the strike. He stated that he had not received reports on labor conditions; he could not tell within several thousands how many men worked for him in Colorado.

"He did not know what wages they received or what rent they paid.

"He had never considered what the proper length of a working day should be. He did not know what constituted a living wage.

"Most amazing of all, he had never even read the list of grievances that the strikers filed with the governor of Colorado and gave to the world through the press.

Ignorant of Other "Abuses"

"He did not know whether or not 50 per cent of his employees worked twelve hours a day. When asked whether he considered twelve hours a day to be a hardship he answered that he was not familiar enough with the work to judge.

"He did not know how many of his employees worked seven days a week the year round, but judged that it would be a hardship.

"He knew that there was a system by which injured men or their families were compensated, yet he did not know what the system was.

"Fourteen months thousands of men, women and children suffered on the mountain sides and prairies and two more months have gone since we called off the strike as a result of President Wilson's proposal, and yet he has not had the opportunity for a personal investigation.

"His excuse for his lack of knowledge and his failures is that he is too busy.

"What is his business?"

"He explained it by stating, 'I spend a large part of my time in directing with others the various foundations which my father has established and in giving time to questions of investment.'"

"It was only under questioning that he confessed that his father had received \$8,889,000 from his bonds," Mr. Lawson continued, "and that the assets from the company were \$23,000,000 in excess of liabilities, and that this item did not take in an appreciation in property values of \$19,000,000.

"Keep Vast Property Idle"

"Nor did he mention the vast holdings that the company refuses to develop, keeping them idle while the population increase adds to their value.

"Whatever appearance of poverty clings to the company is not due to anything but its own stupid and corrupt policy. Had it taken the money it has spent in controlling officials and the electorate, in purchasing machine guns, the employment of gunmen and in crushing the aspirations of human beings, and spent it in wages and the improvement of working conditions, they would have had rich returns in increased productivity.

"These—this record of indifference respecting human life and human happiness—are vital causes of industrial discontent.

"An employer who is never seen and whose power is handed down from man to man, until there is a chain that no individual can climb.

"Our lives and our liberties passed over as a birthday gift or by will

"Our energies and futures capitalized by financiers in distant cities.

"Our masters too often men who have never seen us, who care nothing for us and who will not or cannot hear the cry of our despair."

And this young man, whose portrait is thus drawn in sharp lines, is sitting today master of the coal fields of Colorado, dictating to the miners who give blood and life to dig out each year ten million tons of coal for Rockefeller profits. There are ten square miles of this Rockefeller coal land, and the federal government geological survey says there are three hundred seventeen billion tons of coal ready for the diggers in the years to come there.

Before these billions of tons of coals are taken out from under the top of the earth, there will come closer and closer organization of the workers. There will come a more accurate and complete history of the Rockefellers and a surer massing of that evidence which points to this father and this son as thieves and murderers.

Henry Demarest Lloyd Calls the Rockefellers Thieves—The real truth about the Standard Oil people is that they are thieves; the trouble is that neither they nor the people generally realize this. The task of today is to lay bare the realities of the Standard Oil methods, and the evils of the results so clearly that the public will be driven to see that modern business is piracy and theft and lying. . . . There was a time when it was not murder to kill an enemy; when it was not theft to steal that which belonged to another tribe; when it was not lying to tell an untruth to strangers. The men who first declared that all these were simply, clearly and sharply murder, theft and lying were burned or hanged in their day, but have become prophets and are now revered. As troublesome no doubt will be the pathway of those who declare and prove that the methods of modern business, as exemplified in the careers of its most eminently successful practitioners, are still those of lying, theft, murder.—Henry Demarest Lloyd, page 184, *Life of Henry Demarest Lloyd*, by Caro Lloyd, Vol. I.

I have had word from several friends in the East about an invitation issued by the Oil Trust people to a number of eminent divines to investigate the truth of charges against them, especially those contained in my book (*Wealth Against Commonwealth*). It has been suggested I attend. I am ready to do so. I have been thinking of ways by which the Oil Trust could be made to break its silence. I will meet Mr. Rockefeller anywhere and at any time before these ministers to consider these "charges," stipulating only that the unreversed findings of the courts, state and federal, civil and criminal, and of the Interstate Commerce Commission, as given in my book, be accepted in the investigation as conclusive as to the facts covered by them unless the Oil Trust can show that they, the findings, are incorrectly reported by me. The investigating

committee, as I understand it, is to sit in the building of the Trust, where it is promised all the facilities of the office shall be put at the service of the inquiry. Leading members of the Trust have testified under oath that it kept no books and that the records of the proceedings of the managing directors are destroyed after their meetings. See the testimony before the New York Senate Committee, 1888, pp. 455, 576, 577, 589, and before Congress, 1888, pp. 391-2. The proper place to investigate is among the public records of the very numerous judicial and legislative investigations; but if the ministers are willing to go to the headquarters of the Trust, I am.—Page 213, *Ibid*.

The company was unwilling that Lloyd be present and the conference never took place. Page 214, *Ibid*.

Ida Tarbell Shows the Rockefellers as Crooks—Mr. Rockefeller secured an alliance with railroads to drive out rivals. For fifteen years he received rebates of varying amounts on at least the greater part of his shipments and for at least a portion of that time he collected drawbacks on the oil other people shipped; at the same time he worked with the railroads to prevent other people getting oil to manufacture, or if they got it he worked with the railroads to prevent the shipment of the product. If it reached a dealer, he did his utmost to bully or wheedle him, to countermand his order. If he failed in that he undersold until the dealer, losing on his purchase, was glad enough thereafter to buy of Mr. Rockefeller.

There is no gaming table in the world where loaded dice are tolerated; no athletic field where men must not start fair. Yet Mr. Rockefeller has systematically played with loaded dice, and it is doubtful if there has ever been a time since 1872 when he has run a race with a competitor and started fair. Business played in this way loses all its sportsmanlike qualities. It is fit only for tricksters.

The bitterness against the Standard Oil Company in many parts of Pennsylvania and Ohio is such that a verdict from a jury on the merits of the evidence is almost impossible. A case in point occurred a few years ago in the Bradford field. An oil producer was discovered stealing oil from the National Transit Company. He had tapped the main line and for at least two years had run a small but steady stream of Standard oil into his private tank. Finally the thieving pipe was discovered, and the owner of it, after acknowledging his guilt, was brought to trial. The jury gave a verdict of not guilty! They seemed to feel that though the guilt was acknowledged, there probably was a Standard trick concealed somewhere. Anyway it was the Standard Oil Company and it deserved to be stolen from! The writer has frequently heard men, whose own business was conducted with scrupulous fairness, say in cases of similar stealing that they would never condemn a man who stole from the Standard! Of course, such a state of feeling undermines the whole moral nature of a community.

The moral effect of directly practicing many Standard Oil methods is obvious. For example, take the whole system devised by Mr. Rockefeller for keeping track of independent business.

There are practices which corrupt every man who has a hand in them. One of the most deplorable things about it is that most of the work is done by youngsters. The freight clerk who reports the independent oil shipments for a fee of five or ten dollars a month is probably a young man, learning his first lessons in corporate morality. If he happens to sit in

Mr. Rockefeller's church on Sundays, through what sort of a haze will he receive the teachings? There is something alarming to those who believe that commerce should be a peaceful pursuit, and who believe that the moral law holds good throughout the entire range of human relations, in knowing that so large a body of young men in this country are consciously or unconsciously growing up with the idea that business is war and that morals have nothing to do with its practice.—History of the Standard Oil Company.

"High Grading" At Rawhide

(As told by Bill Haywood)

DONE INTO VERSE BY CY TOBIAS

Reprinted by permission from the *Popular Magazine*.

WAY down in the mines at Rawhide,
With powder and pick we bent,
For the gold that men fight and men die for,
And none of us knew content.
Though wages were high,
They were not high enough,
And it's senseless to dig
And turn over the stuff,
To a white-collared dude,
Metallurgical bluff.

So we started "high grading" at Rawhide,
Or privately entered claim,
For a part of the loot of the bosses,
Stacked cards in the old brace game.
Of course we said nothing
To spineless galoots,
But padded our pockets
And filled up our boots,
And clumped past the tenders
Who handled the chutes.

When we started "high grading" at Rawhide,
We managed to swell our pay,
By sending the ore down the cañon,
And getting a fair assay.
We packed it in boxes
And labeled it "Soap,"
And sent it by stage
Firmly tied with a rope,
And trusted to Collins,
The driver, a Dope.

When we were "high grading" at Rawhide,
Old Tom he would wink and would cough,
And take a big jolt in the arm with a grin,
Climb aboard and go driving off;
And when he returned

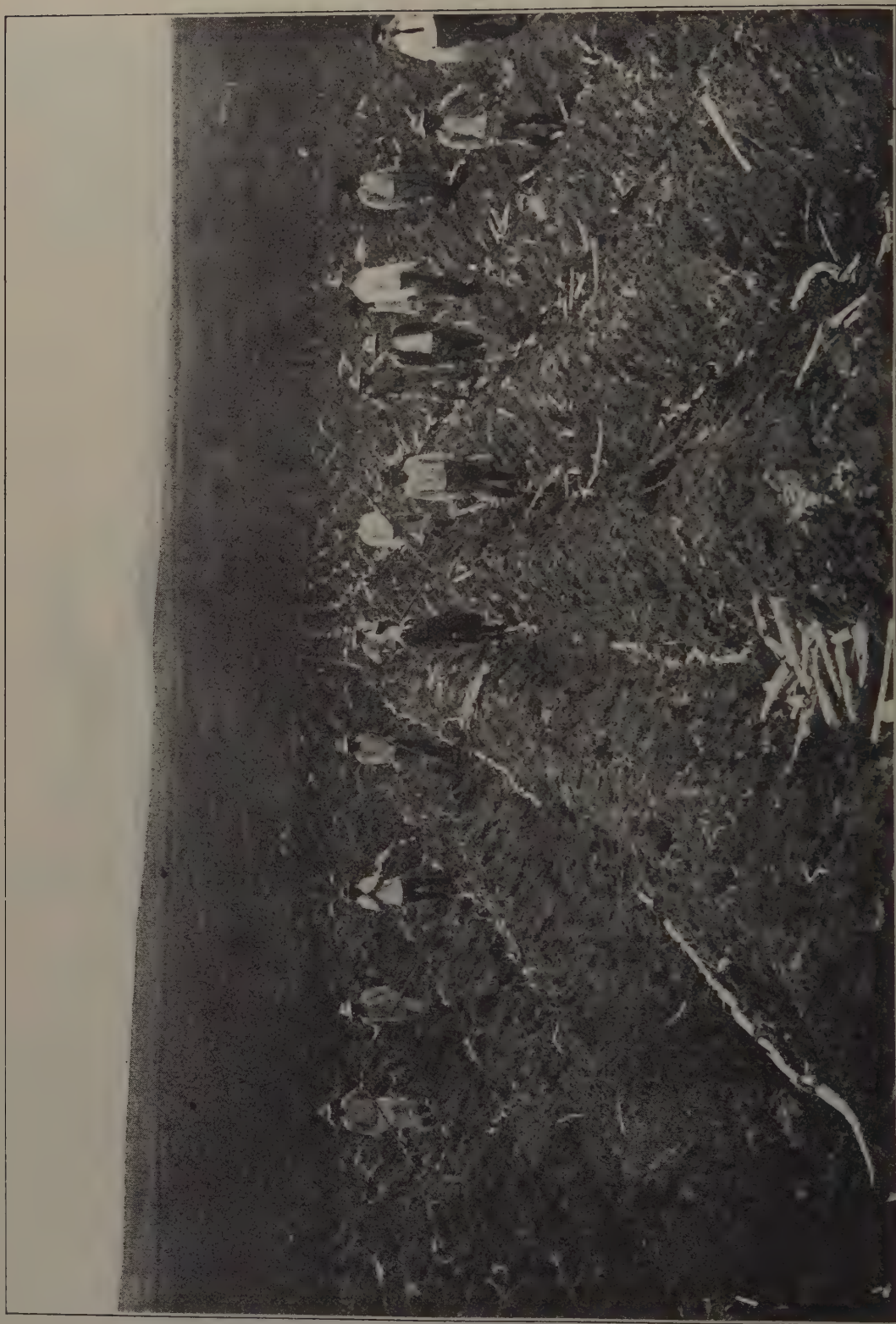
With the stuff that will buy,
We dressed up the Missus
And set up the rye,
And Tom took a slug in the arm,
On the sly.

When we were "high grading" at Rawhide,
Old Tommy was caught with the goods,
"No chance with a Dope under pressure," we
said,

And some of us took to the woods.
They locked up poor Tom,
Took away all his "snow,"
But promised the drug
If he freely would show
Who had taken the ore;
And they said he could go.

There was no "high grading" at Rawhide,
With Tom going mad in jail,
For the stuff that would cure him of anguish,
The stuff that could never fail;
Tom raved in his cell,
Like a madman at bay,
The drug was their bribe
Every night—every day;
Tom shrieked as he moaned:
"I have *nothing to say!*"

They took Tom away from Rawhide,
For he never told, you bet.
Eight years is a long, hard sentence,
But, God! We will not forget.
How *could* we forget,
Through the night, through the day,
He fought all the demons
And held them at bay,
Held out to the end—
He had *nothing to say!*



PLANTING SUGAR CANE.



IRRIGATING CANE FIELDS.

(Perkins Photo.)

The Story of Hawaiian Sugar

By MARION WRIGHT

HAD it not been for her sugar Hawaii might have still been free, ruled by her own Queen and people. But sugar is money, and sugar forced the island Empire into the arms of Uncle Sam and turned her over to the tender mercies of the missionary and sugar planter.

The story of the growth of the sugar industry in Hawaii is akin to an Arabian Night's tale. A kingdom has been overthrown; difficulties have been met; obstacles overcome; methods changed, and results achieved that would have been unthinkable fifty years ago.

The sugar planters of Hawaii managed to make sugar enough for home consumption and to export 277 tons in 1856, approximately the daily output of a few mills

in 1906. In 1910 the sugar output was 517,000 tons, nearly two thousand times as much as that of only fifty years ago.

The sugar mills of 1856 consisted of little wooden rollers standing on end, operated by bullocks and fed by hand, one stick at a time. Their exact duplicates are still in use in the Philippines. Iron, three-roller mills had just begun to be introduced and they weighed less than a ton apiece. The best mills of the islands in 1914 use twelve-roll mills with a cutter and crusher to first reduce the cane to shape.

Sixteen and a half tons is the weight of the large mill rollers, in addition to which 430 tons of hydraulic pressure is applied to the rollers to assist in pressing the juice from the cane. The mills of 1856 ex-

tracted less than half of the sugar from the cane. All the mills of the present give an extraction of over 90 per cent and some run as high as 95.

The sugar planter of 1856 plowed but little, used no fertilizer, knew practically nothing of irrigation, boiled his sugar in a scrap iron pot bought from a whale ship and was even then "short of labor."

Over two hundred thousand immigrant laborers have been brought to Hawaii by sugar. The supply is still short and the problem is becoming not only vexing to the Hawaiian exploiters but to the government at Washington. Sugar will release no less than 60,000 Japanese of voting age in Honolulu in a few months and there is talk of placing the islands under the government of a military committee to bar these yellow votes.

To prepare the sugar land, twenty-ton steam plows break up the soil; five to fifteen hundred pounds of fertilizer, costing \$40 a ton, are applied annually to each acre of cane under cultivation. Water to the

amount of six hundred million gallons a day is pumped to an average elevation of 200 feet with which to irrigate sugar cane. Besides which nearly as much more is brought through ditches extending through miles of tunnels, crossing valleys hundreds of feet deep, through inverted syphons, and extending to forty miles in length, while the whaler's scrap tub for making sugar has been exchanged for apparatus costing from half a million to a million to each mill.

The average yield per acre in 1856 was one ton of sugar. The average yield ten years ago was four and one-half tons, while individual irrigation plantations averaged ten tons per acre.

In 1856 the sugar planter received ten cents per pound for his sugar and lost money. The planter of today gets five cents and makes money. The story of the Hawaiian sugar industry interweaves with the political, social and religious history of the islands. It touches kings and revolutions, fabulous fortunes forced from the soil and the workers and total losses of immense



CUTTING CANE.

(Perkins Photo.)

wealth in a few short years. Plantations have paid sixty dollars dividends a ton one year and lost twenty dollars a ton the next. As late as 1905 a plantation which figured very conservatively to produce 20,000 tons made but 1,600. The cause was "leaf hopper" and drought, and to many others disaster has come along with success.

When cane first came to Hawaii or how it was brought is unknown. Captain Cook found it upon discovery of the islands and in later voyages spoke of it as being a common article of food and supply to shipping. In 1823 an Italian made sugar in Honolulu by pounding the sugar cane with stone beaters, on poi boards, and boiling the juice in small copper kettles. In 1841 the governor of Hawaii planted about 100 acres of cane, having it farmed by Chinamen.

The Civil War in the United States gave the first great impetus to the Hawaiian sugar industry. The war immediately cut off the supply of sugar from the southern states and raised prices generally, resulting in a rapid increase in the output from Hawaii, the exports being 1,283 tons in 1861 and 8,869 tons in 1868. A sugar refinery was established in Honolulu in 1861. It confined its operations to boiling over and refining molasses from the mills.

The rapid extension of the business created such a demand for labor that the wages of field laborers rose to a dollar a day, an unprecedented thing at that time, including free rent, wood, and medical attendance. The earth was scoured in all directions for laborers, resulting in Hawaii securing the greatest mixture of races the world has even seen.

From five to fifteen hundred pounds of fertilizer are now used per acre on practically all the cane land of Hawaii, on virgin soil as well as old lands. The fertilizers used are chiefly compounded in Honolulu, where there are two large factories, and in San Francisco.

The methods of cultivation vary greatly in the different districts. Wherever there is deep soil, free of rock and not too hilly, steam plows are used, which break up the soil to the depth of thirty inches. Where irrigation is practiced the cane is planted in deep furrows. In unirrigated fields the cane is planted in shallow furrows running straight across the field regardless of grade.

On irrigated fields there is no cultivating with small plows or cultivators as these

would break up the ditches. All weeding is done by hand. On unirrigated plantations the first weeding is done by hand and as soon as the cane is well started cultivators operated by one mule are used. Much greater care is given to thoroughness of plowing and to keeping the field clear of weeds than was formerly done.

The revolution in sugar machinery in fifty years is complete. Even the past ten years has worked most radical changes. The best mill buildings are now of skeleton steel structural iron, with corrugated galvanized roof and sides, and mostly iron or concrete floors. In front of the mills is a cutter and crusher for the purpose of flattening and preparing the cane so that it will be properly taken by the rollers. By reason of the high percentage of juice extraction the stalk is left so dry that it is carried direct from the rolls on an endless chain and automatically fed to the furnaces, which are specially constructed to burn this fuel. On the plantations which grind day and night these crushed stalks, or "bagasse," furnish practically all the fuel.

On nearly all the plantations waste molasses is now fed to stock and used as a fuel, being sprayed on the "bagasse" in the furnace. It will probably be utilized in the near future to make alcohol. Labor-saving devices are the constant study of the Hawaiian planter. On some plantations machines load the cane onto the cars and unload it onto the cane carrier. Mechanical carriers take the cane to the mill, the bagasse to the furnace, and collect sugar from the centrifugals. Mechanical stokers feed the furnaces; elevators and hoppers bag the sugar and machines are being introduced which top and sew the filled bags. The one great labor devourer is harvesting the crop. From 500 to 800 men are required daily to harvest cane for one first class mill.

There is one point which baffles the growers of sugar cane and that is to increase the percentage of sugar. There has been practically no increase in the sucrose content of sugar cane since the plant was first known. This is due to the fact that it is propagated by cuttings and therefore offers no opportunity of improving the stock. Experiment stations are now working to produce fertile cane seeds so that the best varieties may be interbred and de-



LOADING CANE ON CARS.

(Perkins Photo.)

veloped. Twenty years ago it was generally conceded that sugar cane would not produce a fertile seed. That great wizard of the fields, Luther Burbank, has stated that in his opinion the continuous and intelligent cross-fertilization and selection of sugar cane seed would double the percentage of sugar in cane within twelve to fifteen years.

The present average output of sugar per acre in Hawaii is four and one-half tons.

If the same land could be made to produce nine tons the possibilities and profits of the sugar industry are almost beyond the limits of the imagination.

The one cloud upon the horizon of the sugar planter is the labor situation. The demand has never been supplied though higher wages are paid than in any other tropical country. This runs \$20 to \$30 a month for 26 days, ten hours a day.



A PARADE OF UNION CIGAR MAKERS IN PORTO RICO.

A VOICE FROM PORTO RICO

By NINA LANE McBRIDE

IN the living, pulsing drama, which was unfolded at the hearings of the Industrial Relations Commission, nothing, aside from the Ludlow Horror, seemed to touch the heart cords of the public as did the testimony of the two Porto Rican workers, Prudencio Rivera Martinez and Santiago Iglesias.

Prudencio Martinez, a Porto Rican by birth, is the President of the Cigar Makers' Union. He is a serious-faced, sad-eyed boy, who feels the sorrows of his people. He has hope that the American Government will do something for his fellow workers. He read a paper to the Commis-

sioners, prefaced with an apology for his English, which was not needed, as his English, as well as his language, was beautiful, and his slight Spanish accent but made his appeal the more pathetic. He detailed the misery of the workers of Porto Rico. The old, old story of long hours and poor pay; of the machine displacing the man, and the little children taking the places of their mothers. He laid the bruised and bleeding heart of the Porto Rican workers at the feet of the American people with the cry, "Help us to be like you."

Santiago Iglesias is of a different type, and if the Government officials are to be

believed, a very bad sort. He is a trouble maker and where he goes trouble is soon to follow. He is a Spaniard by birth and a carpenter by trade. He was forced to leave Spain for political reasons and took refuge in Cuba, where he remained for some time. He was driven from Cuba and fled to Porto Rico, where he was imprisoned, and at the time of the American invasion, when all political prisoners were freed, had served four years.

Seeing the misery and the helplessness of the Porto Rican workers, he decided to remain in Porto Rico and organize them. This he has been doing. He is now President of the Free Federation of Labor, and editor of "Justicia," a revolutionary labor paper published at San Juan. The story he told the Commissioners of the police system of the Island was very much the same as that told by the Pennsylvania workers of the Pennsylvania State Police. The Island of Porto Rico is just now, since the new movement of the general strike of the country workers, undergoing a very critical period; a period of persecution of the laborers generally. The police are quartered on the property of the Sugar Manufacturers. They eat and drink at the expense of the Corporations, ride the com-

panies' horses and automobiles, and women are supplied them.

The pay of the agricultural worker averages about 45 cents per day of ten to twelve hours. The cost of living is higher than it is in the states, so necessarily the standard of living is very low. Coffee, without sugar or milk, and a piece of banana often suffices for breakfast, with sometimes rice or beans. Children are put at coffee picking at the age of six and seven years. Where whole families are employed, the pickings are thrown in with that of the man, and he receives the wages. There are plantation stores where the usual two-price system prevails—one price for the workers and one for those not employed. Hundreds of acres of land are granted to the corporations, while the poor people have no access to the lands. Parades of striking workers are forbidden, as is freedom of speech and free assembly. In fact, gatherings of more than five persons are forbidden, and imprisonment on any or no charge is a common thing. Both Mr. Iglesias and Mr. Martinez are out on bail, awaiting trial for carrying deadly weapons, said weapons consisting of small flag-sticks to which flags were attached.



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DOWN WITH AMERICAN MILITARISM

By S. J. RUTGERS

(Comrade S. J. Rutgers is one of the foremost civil engineers in Holland. He is also a member of the revolutionary Dutch S. D. P. and one of the group comprising Drs. Pannekoek and Gorter, whose book on war we hope soon to publish. Comrade Rutgers has spent several years in the Orient and perhaps no Socialist whom we have met in a long time is so capable of telling our readers the meaning of Imperialism or Colonial Expansion in the far East.)

IT MAY be of interest to American laborers just now when there is so much talk of army and navy matters in this country, to know something on far eastern colonial matters. For, although the general interest in colonial problems seems to be negligible at the present moment, it is probable that America will become imperialistic before the masses are aware of what is happening.

Already there is a general demand in the press for an increased army and a stronger fleet and there is little going on among the working class to oppose this general feeling.

A Socialistic reform paper like the *Milwaukee Leader* even joins in the cry for armaments and Mr. Hillquit states that if there should be any danger of America getting into a war, he would admit the necessity of having a strong army, which statement means the yielding of every possible resistance against one of the most acute dangers that threatens labor.

Military power, once acquired, will surely be used as a strong argument in future diplomatic discussions on imperialistic problems. We must not forget that America just now is becoming more and more a nation of industrial export and that financial capital is rapidly increasing its foreign investments. The result will be imperialism in spite of all so-called democratic institutions.

There will be financial interests in Mexico, in South America and in Canada and, in no less degree, there will be financial interests in the far east, especially in China, where Rockefeller already possesses a monopoly of oil fields, which from a financial point of view, is worth a military con-

flict. I have only to mention the aggressive policy of Japan, combined with England and the probable future combination of Germany and Russia to regain their lost influence in the far east, to show that there will be some problems of vital capitalist interest in which America will mix if it has the power to do so.

Whether this will lead to spheres of influence or colonies or even to the more hypocritical form of "protection" of some foreign governmental system, in order to secure the profits, makes no difference. The purpose and the result will be large investments and no robbery nor murder will be too barbarous to secure profits to those investments. Even the most direct slavery may be re-introduced.

To gain some idea about your own future politics, you have only to look to those who have preceded you and it is in this sense that you should be especially interested in colonial problems.

I doubt if it is necessary to call to your minds the crimes and cruelties perpetrated on men, women and children due to the more primitive methods of colonial exploitation. If we recall the exploits of Gordon of England, Peters of Germany, Leopold of Belgium, J. P. Coen of Holland and the Foreigners' Legion of France, we must frankly admit that colonial barbarism is not a national but an international feature. Indeed America has had its share in this kind of civilization by robbing and murdering the American Indians.

But that was some time ago and although the same methods are practiced today in some parts of the world that are newly opened, it is not likely that America will go in for this sort of colonial development.

These methods indeed are not modern and less profitable. When it becomes necessary to force the natives to work for you, you may starve them instead of killing them at once.

Every nation has its own ways in the modern modes of colonial exploitation and much attention is used to give things the semblance of good-will, especially by so-called democratic countries.

When I arrived at the Dutch Colony, east coast of Sumatra, some four years ago, there had previously been published a book containing revelations of cruelties committed by the whites against the colored laborers. At that time the "planters" were practically their own masters and flogged and often eventually killed their "coolies," without inviting trouble upon their own heads. After the publication of the book above mentioned and much parliamentary debating, the Dutch Government decided to put things on a more modern basis. New regulations were made and more officers appointed, first to form new tribunals and some of them to act as inspectors on the treatment of the native laborers.

All parties interested in this big and profitable colony made a formal propaganda to convince people that everything was now a paradise to the colored workers. If you happened to ask a planter about the state of labor, he generally admitted that things had been rather rotten before, but would declare that all had been changed.

Indeed it had changed but only to become a more perfect form of slavery. The whole force of the police and "justice" is now behind the planters and there would be no longer any necessity for them to execute their own "justice" were it not for the time lost in sending the natives before the magistrates and to prison. Those living far from the place where there is a tribunal, generally continue in the old way of judgment with corporal chastising and many others continue out of habit. The more clever capitalists, however, take advantage of the new system by leaving punishment to government officials.

The colored laborers are bound by contract to work for their masters and are therefore not only sent to prison if they try to run away, but also if they do not work with sufficient intensity or if they have

presumed to act against the orders of their masters or there is something offensive in their attitude toward the whites.

Magistrates often have to deal with from twenty to fifty cases an hour and as most white as well as colored people are willing to swear to everything that is in their own interests, it is absolutely impossible to get any sort of justice, even if the judge should wish to do so. So it is within the power of the planter to send every contract laborer to prison whom he wishes to send there and to maintain a system of terror much more effective than it would be were he obliged to risk his own skin by flogging personally.

The appointment of inspectors may have brought some improvement in dwellings and sanitary conditions. The state of slavery is not affected in any way.

The inspector always announces his visits in advance to the estates and he cannot even understand most of the laborers who speak in a foreign tongue (Chinese and Javanese). So the inspectors are accompanied by interpreters who go about to allow the workers to bring in complaints against their masters. In the beginning there really were some complaints and the planters accused the interpreters of instigating the laborers to bring in accusations. The government, of course, took the part of the planters, simply telling the interpreters to put down the complaints in form as they were brought in.

The interpreter gives the complaints to the inspectors and the inquiry is held in the offices of the accused company. The result has been that in the course of a whole year, there has not been one serious complaint laid before the officer of justice through the mediation of the inspectors, notwithstanding that during this time several of such cases were dealt with. Indeed slavery regulated by the state is the worst of all and a warning to the admirers of so-called state Socialism.

Now I wish to impress upon you that this kind of slavery is not accidental, but the result of conditions that would, no doubt, force other states to adopt similar measures.

This part of Sumatra being thinly populated, it is absolutely necessary to import workers if the capitalists would gain the big profits to be had from the conditions of

climate and soil. The statement that one of the tobacco companies made a profit of more than ten million dollars in one year will sufficiently show the capitalist necessity of procuring laborers even though they have to draw them out of hell itself.

In fact the laborers are brought from China and Java and the transport of these people costs so much money that there must be some form of slavery to secure the desired results. The more so because in these rich countries the natives could find a living with much less energy than the capitalists expect them to spend in their behalf.

To a greater or less extent you will find conditions the same in other parts of the world where capitalism develops and where there is not a sufficiently large population that can be expropriated and turned into "free" laborers. Even in the greater part of South America—in Chile, which has already attracted the attention of American capitalists, there are no laborers to develop in the modern capitalistic way. And the importation of Italians has proved insufficient. Probably there will be an import of Chinese labor in a way similar to that used in the Dutch colonies with sooner or later

a revolt or intervention and American militarism defending the capitalist interests.

The United States workers, who openly or secretly approve a stronger army and navy and those who do not oppose them with all their strength, will have to realize that this militarism is to be used to secure big profits out of foreign labor and to impair their own position through the involuntary assistance of those yellow laborers whom they do not yet acknowledge as fellow soldiers in the class struggle.

Yet it is not too late if labor here will spend its whole energy in opposing imperialism and militarism together with the workers the whole world over—black, white and yellow.

This does not mean philanthropy. It means self-preservation. It is the only way to win your own cause.

There is an opportunity before you American workers, because you are only at the beginning of militarism and imperialism in this country. The workers of Europe are being crushed by these forces which they did not recognize in time. Do not wait until war is acute, but oppose at once and by all means in your power.

ANTI-ENLISTMENT PLEDGE

I, being over eighteen years of age, hereby pledge myself against enlistment as a volunteer for any military or naval service in international war, and against giving my approval to such enlistment on the part of others.

Name.....

Address.....

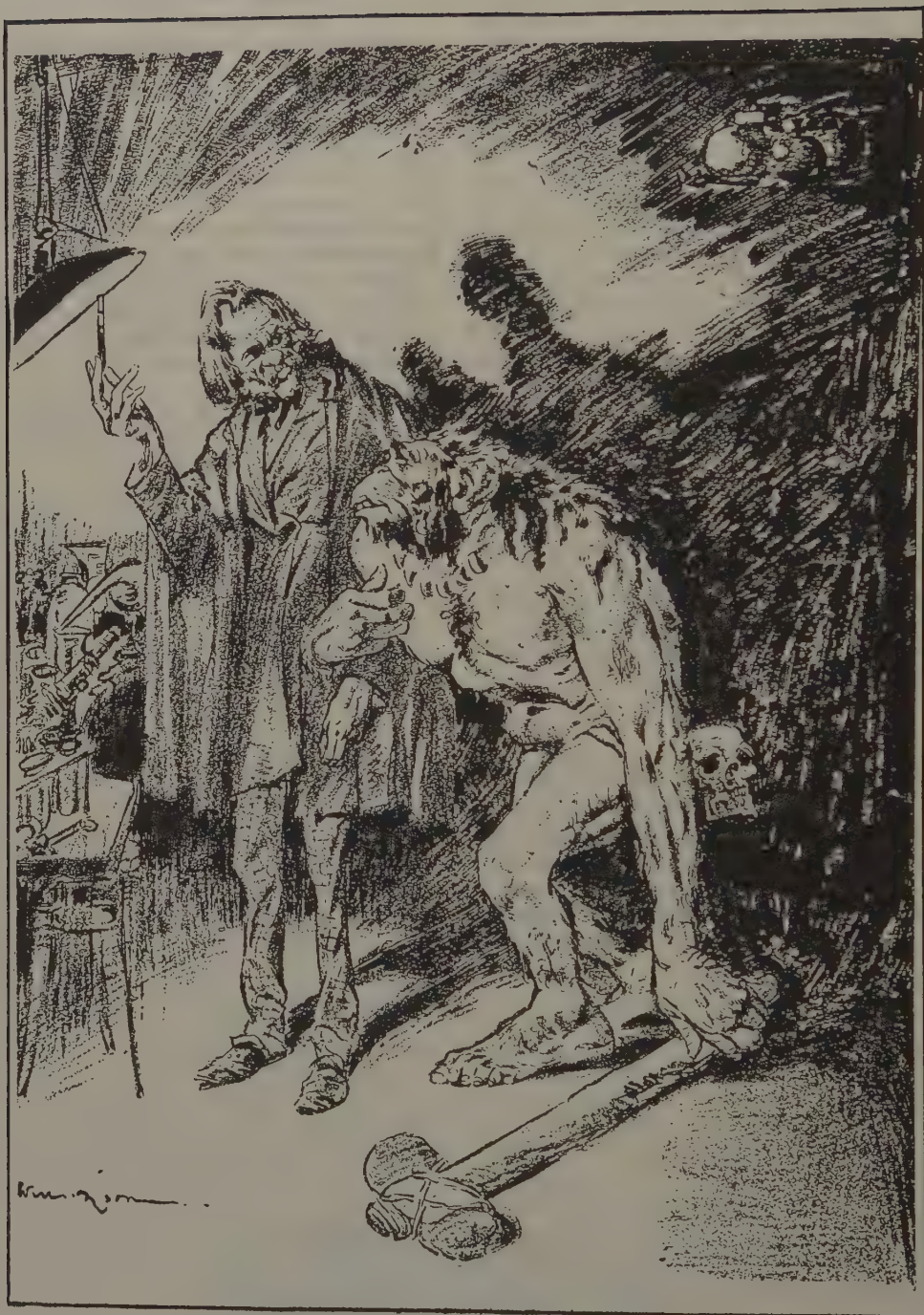
City.....

State.....

Please forward pledge to **Anti-Enlistment League**, 61 Quincy street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Committee: John Haynes Holmes, Tracy D. Mygatt, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Secretary.

Get your friends to sign this pledge, and sign it yourself and forward it to the address given above. Pledge blanks may be secured from the Anti-Enlistment League, 61 Quincy street, Brooklyn, N. Y.



MODERN SCIENCE AND PREHISTORIC SAVAGERY

The Professor: "Together, my dear Herr Caveman, we should be irresistible."

SAVAGE SURVIVALS

IN HIGHER PEOPLES

By PROF. J. HOWARD MOORE

IV. THE ORIGIN OF HIGHER PEOPLES.

1. Purpose of the Lesson.

All civilized peoples have come from savage peoples. They have *grown* from savages, just as you and I as individuals have grown from babies. It is important to know this. For we cannot understand the things civilized men and women do and think and feel—many of them are so barbarous and strange—unless we recognize the fact that civilized men and women are merely leaved-out savages.

It is also important to know something of the nature and ideas of savages, so that we can compare them with our own nature and ideas, and see how much of us has survived from savage times and how much has been produced since then.

The purpose of this lesson, therefore, is (1) to teach you that all higher peoples go back in their ancestry to savages, and (2) to teach you something about what sort of beings savages are.

2. Where the English Came From.

Go back into the past two or three thousand years, and you do not find any English in the world, nor any French, nor Spanish, nor Germans, nor Russians. But what you do find is that each of these peoples is represented at that time by one or more savage tribes, from which it has grown. The English go back to the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, three savage or semi-savage tribes that lived originally in the region of Denmark and southward, and who came over and settled the island of Great Britain fourteen or fifteen hundred years ago. The first settlement was made about 449 A. D. These people were very rude. They dressed in skins, loved adventure, and were fond of water. They lived a good deal by pillage. They would enter their skin boats and cruise along the coast of the Baltic till they came to a town of some other tribe. They would drive the people out or kill them,

plunder the town, and then burn it. They thought this was a perfectly proper thing to do; for they acted on the principle that "Might makes right," that is, on the principle that it is right to do whatever one has the power to do.

The English people sometimes boast that "Britannia rules the waves." *Britannia* is the Latin name for Britain. And the expression "Britannia rules the waves" means that, while the land surfaces are divided among different peoples, the sea is England's. The English people more than any other people have been the explorers and settlers and developers of the world. Nearly everywhere you go you find the English—in North and South America (*we* are English), in South Africa, Australia, India, and in many of the islands of the sea. The English-speaking peoples are so enterprising and already have possession of such a large part of the surface of the earth, including practically two whole continents, that it looks as though 200 years from now the planet would be largely English.

I suppose that one reason why the English have been so restless as a race is because their ancestors were that kind of a people. Suppose the English had come from land animals—beings who lived in the interior of Europe, a quiet, home-loving and peaceful people. Don't you suppose the history of England would have been a very different thing from what it is today? The adult English people merely reflect the character of the infant peoples from whom they have grown, just as a grown man is in a general way much like what he was when he was a child.

3. Other Modern Peoples.

The French came from the Gauls, scattered tribes that lived in the region of

what is now France, at the time of the Roman Empire.

The Germans came from the Goths, Vandals, and Cimbri, three barbarous tribes that lived in central Europe and assisted in overrunning the Roman Empire.

The Italians came from the Romans, a people who spoke the Latin language and lived in the peninsula of Italy and other Mediterranean lands, about the time of Christ and later.

The modern Greeks are from the ancient Greeks.

And all of the modern white peoples—Russians, Swedes, Germans, French, English, and Americans—can trace their ancestry back, by means of common languages and common legends, to a people who came long ago out of the East, out of the land beyond the Caspian. These people came into what is now Europe and settled there long before we have any history. And from them all of the modern European peoples have come.

4. The Cradle of Mankind.

But where did these original white people come from? And where did the dark peoples come from? And the Chinese? And the Indians? Where was the cradle of the human species? In what part of the world, and at what time did man originate as a new and distinct species of animal? This must have occurred at some certain place on the earth and at some definite period in time.

It is pretty certain that the human species did not originate in what is called the western half of the earth and spread from there as a center over the world. For reasons, the most of which I cannot give to you, because it would take too long to make them plain, it is believed by scientists that the cradle of mankind was somewhere in the eastern hemisphere. One reason for this belief is that it is here that we find the oldest tracks of man, the earliest evidence of his existence in the world.

We can go back into the civilizations of the Nile and of the Euphrates and of some of the rivers of India for thousands of years, in some places 8 or 10 thousand years. Here we find one civilization on top of another. Here are found the things

men have fought with and worked with and played with and lived in—objects which have defied the teeth of time, and which endure long after their creators have vanished. It is believed that man originated somewhere in southern Asia. Or, possibly, still further south than the present boundary of Asia, in lands now drowned by the Indian Ocean. This supposed land, which, if it ever existed, is now under the sea, has been called *Lemuria*.

5. Changes in Geography.

You know from your study of physiography that a large part of what is now the land surface of the earth was once the floor of the sea. Sandstone and limestone, which are so common over the land surfaces, we know are made under water, and no place else. And we find the fossils of fishes and other water animals scattered all over the land, even to the mountain tops. The remains of a whale were found in northern Mississippi the other day. This animal, when it died, was swimming in the Mississippi Sea, a great body of water which once extended from the Gulf of Mexico over what is now the Great Central Plains of the United States.

The City of Louisville is built where it is because the Ohio river has a fall there. This fall is caused by a coral reef running across the river at that point. Corals are sea animals. And the corals that located the city of Louisville by forming a reef at that particular place and compelling the Ohio river to stumble over it, lived and died in that far off time when Indiana and Kentucky formed a part of the floor of the Mississippi Sea.

Now, it is not so well known, but it is a fair inference, that much of what is now water surface was once land surface. We mine coal under the sea in some places. And I suppose that if we could only get at them we would find many things in the lands under sea that would be useful to us land animals. Maybe, sometime, when we have impoverished the stores of the land, we shall get so hard up or so skilled that we shall be able to get at these drowned treasures beneath the oceans.

We know that there have been many changes in the geography of the earth in

the past—that the geography of the earth a million or ten million years ago was not what it is today. We know that Africa was joined to Europe at Gibraltar until rather recent times in the history of the earth, and that Asia and North America were united at Behring Strait.

At one time Alaska was joined to Asia by a rather wide isthmus. It was over this isthmus of Behring that many of the North American animals first came into America from Asia. Animals like the buffalo and the mountain sheep did not originate in America. They came from Asia. And they came over the Behring bridge when the world was young. No bones of these animals are found in America previous to this time. The Indians also no doubt came into America from Asia by the same route, although the Indians came much later than the buffalo. Until comparatively recent times in geological history, the island of Great Britain was joined to and formed a part of the continent of Europe. The earliest inhabitants of Great Britain were Celts. They were called Britons by the Anglo-Saxons. Great Britain may not have become an island until some time after it was settled by human beings. The Celts may have walked dry-shod over what is now the North Sea into what was then a western peninsula of continental Europe.

6. How Old Is Man?

How long it has been since man originated as a new species of animal no one knows. But it is known that it was a long time ago. Until 50 or 100 years ago, it was generally supposed that human beings had not existed on the earth more than 5 or 6 thousand years. But the more man is studied and the more the earth is rummaged, the further back into the past is the beginning of things known to be. It is known positively that there have been *living beings* on the earth for a good many *millions* of years. It is estimated that life has existed on the earth for fifty or one hundred million years. But during the most of this time there were no *human* beings in the world. Man is a recent species. But it is believed that man has existed on the earth for as much as two or three hundred thousand years.

7. The Spread of Mankind.

The human species probably originated somewhere in the Indian region of southern Asia. And from this as a center it has spread pretty thoroughly over the land surfaces of the globe, not only over the large land masses, but to most of the islands. One branch moved westward and formed the dark peoples of Africa. Another moved north and northwest and became the white or Caucasian race. Another moved north and east and developed into the yellow or orange race, that is, the Chinese, Japanese, etc. And a branch of the orange race probably moved on over from Asia, past the Behring Strait region, into what is now called America, forming a modification of the orange race, the copper or red race, the so-called American Indians. And another branch of the species moved eastward to the Malay peninsula, the East India islands, Borneo, New Guinea, the islands of the South Pacific, on as far as the Hawaiian islands, forming the brown or Malay race. This gives you a little idea of the scattering out of the different races of men from the original human nest.

The Malays are an island race. They love the water, and are at home in the water. They have been developed in connection with the water, and are largely water animals.

The Hawaiian islands were not settled from North America nor Asia, but by those brown sea-rovers from the southwest. The nearest land to the Hawaiian islands is over 2,000 miles away. How the first human inhabitants of these remote dots ever found their way over the vast wave-wastes they had to traverse before getting there, no one will ever know. But probably they were refugees, carried out to sea by a storm, and, losing their way on the trackless plains, wandered on and on, until they happened to stumble upon these hitherto unknown volcanotops. We know such things can happen, for a junk with survivors on board drifted ashore from the west at the Hawaiian Islands in December, 1832.

8. The First Men

Original men, that is, the first men who ever existed, probably lived in small,

loose bands, each band being composed of from twenty to fifty or more individuals. These bands, in their organization and modes of life, were probably very much like the bands of other animals that are met with today in the forests and on the prairies. They were without fixed places of abode. They subsisted on the fruits, nuts, roots, young shoots and birds' eggs which they came upon during their wanderings through the forest. These bands of early men must have had only the bare beginnings of law and government. Each band was led by an old

male as chief, who had won his position as leader by his exceptional strength and intelligence. There was no family life, the sexes mingling much as among lower animals generally. Early men lived in a tropical climate, and were without either clothes or fire. They had long arms, and short, weak legs. Their weapons were sticks and stones. They were able to overcome all except the larger animals by cooperation and the force of numbers. They probably used the trees a great deal as a refuge in time of danger. They may have had the beginnings of superstition.

AFTER THE WAR—WHAT?

III. Collectivism

By HENRY L. SLOBODIN

As an incident to the war, yet far more important than the war itself, a new social-economic form rises amidst the crumbling forms of capitalism. Collectivism is rapidly forcing itself to the fore and there is nothing to stop it. Both the competitive form of capitalism and the monopolistic form of capitalism have failed the nations of Europe in this emergency. This war is a conflict of efficiency with tenacious archaism. Capitalism is archaic. Collectivism is modern.

A less efficient social-economic form must yield to a more efficient.

Neither justice, nor morality, nor idealism will decide. It is efficiency, terrible, implacable, that will not be denied or silenced, pronouncing the doom of our present world.

Collectivism in its crudest, the most corrupt form is more efficient than capitalism in its most advanced form.

It will march on in the face of capitalist hostility and futile Socialist opposition to it, as state capitalism or state Socialism. If state capitalism is more efficient than private capitalism, then state capitalism will win the day. Efficiency is just now writing the latest chapter of the history of our day.

The Germans began it. Efficiency was

not forced upon the Germans as it is now being forced on the Frenchmen and the Englishmen. The German historical processes are difficult to follow. So well do the Germans succeed in beclouding their very practical aims with metaphysical concepts and their successful methods with romantic phrases, that their efficiency appears to us as a "thought out" concept instead of an evolutionary process.

Be that as it may, they got hold of collectivism as a factor for efficiency long since, while England trailed behind in the hobble skirt of Manchesterism and the United States was hampered by the leg chains of a state without sovereignty.

The Germans are more collectivist than any other people and nothing can wrest from them this advantage.

Germany may lose the war, but the Germans are unconquerable.

For collectivism is on the march and it can no more be defeated than the French revolution could be defeated.

The Allies may overthrow the present German government, but this will only make collectivism, liberated from obsolete governmental forms, forge ahead all the faster.

The strength of German collectivism lies in the fact that when economic necessity demanded, it was adopted deliberately, consciously, voluntarily. Whereas France and England adopt it now reluctantly, with a fond belief that, the war once over, they will go back to old ways.

Note in connection with that, the attempt of our own government to have government shipping during the war with the idea of turning the ships over back to private owners after the war. Incidentally it may be remarked that the United States far from outstripping its commercial rivals owing to its free hand during the war, will find itself outstripped after the war by nations organized collectivistically.

While individually and politically an advanced country, the United States will find itself terribly handicapped by the reactionary economic concepts that still hold sway in its industrial life.

And our courts, presided over by medicine-men in economics, evolution and all science except the science of dry precedent, will fetter down our industrial life to a progress that will leave us far behind in the race. There is a rude awakening in store for the United States.

It is the misfortune of the United States to be governed by lawyers, the most ignorant and obscurant of all so-called liberal professions. Not before the physician, engineer, architect and scientific administrator will occupy the seats in Congress and legislatures now filled by blatant, vacuous and mostly corrupt lawyers, will the era of efficiency, of reciprocal social service come.

What is this collectivism?

Government ownership or control of industries alone will not make collectivism. This would be its economic expression or, speaking economic-deterministically, its economic basis. As a concomitant to the movement for public ownership, a transformation ensues in the social mind and conscience reflecting itself eventually in the mind and conscience of the individual. This transformation brings about a change in the view of the reciprocal relation of society and individual. Society's obligations towards the individual receive a sudden expansion. The individual introduces a conception of social service into his daily work.

Without this nothing is collectivism, no matter how much it is government ownership or control.

You may look to Europe and even Germany and wonder where I could see the presence of these elements of collectivism.

To be sure, it is a beginning, but a beginning that "shall never sound retreat."

Collectivism has entered into the blood or soul of the German people and the old ideas of a government being merely a policeman, not interfering, etc., are crumbling into dust.

Junked are also the old rules of life like "God helps him who helps himself," or "take care of yourself and the devil take the hindmost," the Hobbesian war of one against all.

Instead a spirit of social service is spreading its impelling spell broadcast. Capitalism is still dominant. Yet, somehow, it does not dictate just now. Whether this war is being fought by the Germans in the interests of the capitalists, or whether it is of their making, I will discuss at some other time.

The economic foundations of collectivism are well known. Spiritually, collectivism becomes manifest by adding to one's daily work the sense of social service.

And social service at present is the dominant note in German life. The capitalist and the junker, Ballin, the rich Jew and the Kaiser, and the Kaiser's wife and the Kaiser's sons, all seek justification for their social status in social service. Abandoned are the juridics, theological or moral justification for social institutions, capitalist, academic or political. They all begin to seek an excuse for their being in social service.

Again, we see only the beginning. But the iron of collectivism, even in a small dose, is a far more powerful incentive than the iron cross.

That social service dominates German life should be obvious to him who rubs his eyes yet full of sleep. But that it is due to collectivism may be disputed.

I will ask, my disputatious friend, to what is the success of German arms due? And the answer is: To the fact that in Germany every industry, every institution are subordinated to social service. Can you for one moment imagine a Ger-

man Baer delivering himself of some such sentiment: "The German people have nothing to do with the control of the coal industry. God, in his infinite wisdom, placed that control in the hands of a few Christian gentlemen?" Even the German Baers are educated beyond such archaism.

The Germans began to subordinate their industries and institutions to social service and extended their social service to the weak and disabled. They have made a good start. And other nations hasten now to imitate them. They do it not to flatter the Germans, but because they recognize that in social service, reciprocally related, lies the cause of German efficiency, power and prowess. For Germany, notwithstanding its misty philosophies and creeds, is a country governed by reason more than any other country on the globe. And although whatever a German does, he always intends for Germans and Germany only, a German's deed is aye better than his intention. A German serves the world by the example of his more efficient method. He vibrates reason, crystallizing the economic and spiritual atmosphere for collectivism.

"Collectivism! Advance! Progress!" some readers will exclaim. "If what the Germans now show us is a sample of collectivism, then God save us from it!"

What the Germans show now is viewed by the world with mixed emotion of terror and admiration.

Analyze the elements which inspire admiration and you will find that they are fundamentally collectivist.

The terror inspiring element must receive some consideration.

It may be true that the German character presents nothing lovable to a non-German. It is true that the Germans view the rest of mankind to be of any use or good or worth preserving only in proportion as they can be made into good Germans. But is the attitude of the Englishmen different towards the Hindoos, or of the Russians toward the Finns, Jews, Poles and other non-Russian nationalities, or of the Belgians towards the Congoese?

It is an essential part of the present day nationalism that each nation considers itself superior to other nationalities. Talk to a Finn, Jew or Hindoo and you may be surprised to learn that each claims

his nationality to be the best on earth.

The terror inspiring element lies not in this characteristic of the German. It lies in the terrible efficiency of the German.

And the German came by it collectively.

The Germans have discovered before any of the other nations how to apply, consciously and intelligently, the *true law of life* to social relation.

This true law of life dictates that *struggle* for existence among the members of a given group should be eliminated and *co-operation for existence* substituted in its place. This law holds good not only for social relations, but is the law of organic evolution. Turn to the lower species and you will find that a species survived in proportion as it obeyed that law of life.

The island and coasts of the ocean, forests and fields are teeming with birds that live in groups and co-operate for existence, while the birds that live individually—the eagles and the vultures—are few. They are a dying race, for they have disobeyed the law of life. This law governs the entire animal kingdom, man not excluded.

In the infancy of mankind, those tribes survived which had most co-operation and least struggle among its own members. This was strikingly exemplified by the condition of the Indian communities on the American continent at the time of its discovery.

In ancient and medieval age, this law of life suffered grave interference owing to the great migration of nations. In modern society, its course was obscured by the discoveries of science and art. It was carried into production by division of labor, by commerce, etc.

Nations advanced industrially possessed an immense advantage over backward nations. So great was this advantage that it could not be neutralized by the internal class struggle.

In our own day, the resources of science and art, having become accessible to all nations, the advantage shifted to the nations which carried this law into other social relations besides production.

This the Germans did to a greater extent than any other nationality. The *laissez-faire* philosophy never had a hold on the German mind. Germany never

had "twilight zones" wherein the inhuman exploiters could find refuge from government's supervision. Laws regulating production, workingmen's dwellings, protecting the lives of workingmen, social insurance, etc., are older in Germany than in any other country.

And this is the modern expression of the great law of survival—co-operation for existence—social service for the benefit of the individual and the sense of social service in the individual.

If I am asked whether I am speaking of Germany, which is now carrying on a ruthless, cruel war that has caused the greatest modern calamity to mankind, my answer is—German collectivism has not caused the war. What caused the Germans to wage this war is a question which I will discuss at some other time.

Moreover, we may all join in denouncing Germany for this war; we may all join in crushing Germany, which is carrying on this war. This should be no reason for us to deny Germany's superior social organization; no reason why we should refuse to learn from Germany the lesson of collectivism. For learn we must and if we fail to profit voluntarily by the

lesson, it will be driven into us by the blood and iron of necessity.

As an incident of far more reaching importance than the war itself, I repeat, this war is the sponsor of collectivism. A collectivism that forces its way often disguised, with stealthy steps, facing hostility among capitalists and diffidence among workingmen.

Even while the war is being fought, the world is being transformed with a rapidity unequalled in the past. And when, after the war, Europe will go back to work, it will go back to a world strangely different from its world before the war.

Yet it will go back to a world of capitalism—the dominion of bondlords. How could the new idea of social service, of advancing collectivism, be reconciled with the dominion of bondlords?

The answer is: There can be no reconciliation between the two. One of them will be crushed out of existence by the other. And collectivism will not, could not, be crushed.

The conflict will be sharp and decisive.

And this is another Why for the Social Revolution after the war.

YOUR GREAT ADVENTURE

By MARY E. MARCY

SUPPOSE you had steamed away from New York harbor on a great adventure and the ship had gone down a few days later with all on board and you had managed to escape in one of the lifeboats with just enough food and water to last you until you landed some time after at an unknown island.

You would probably rush up the shore without a cent in your pockets to tell the natives of your disaster and subsequent escape, expecting them to fall all over themselves offering to relieve your distress and to share with you.

But suppose, as you labored into the harbor, you were met by a half dozen native policemen who wanted to know what you were doing there, where you worked or where you were going. And you related your experiences and they told you the

harbor was the private property of a certain group of native capitalists and that loitering there was not permitted. What followed was something like this.

You directed your weary feet toward the city that loomed not far off, after receiving the "move along" signal from the cops. Arrived there, you sought a sympathetic ear into which you might pour the marvelous story of your adventures. But nobody seemed in the least interested. They all told you it was "too bad" and asked how much money you had in your pockets, while the police listened and repeated the "move on" sign that forced you to keep going if you did not wish to land in the island calaboose.

Finally it dawned upon you that loitering on the streets was not permitted to anybody who possessed neither money nor property and you asked if there was no

place where you might secure a free night's lodging and a free meal. And the native of whom you inquired informed you that in Kennekuk men were tried and imprisoned for begging and that if you were unable to produce a little cash or did not get a job you would be sure to come into collision with the LAW.

And then you discovered that exactly fifty years prior to your landing, another band of men had been washed ashore at Kennekuk and had taken possession of the island, which was become one of the richest lands in the whole world.

You found out that you had arrived too late. Every inch of Kennekuk was now the private property of some one of the natives or groups of natives and no human being was permitted to SET FOOT upon the land without paying RENT unless he was "going" to work or "coming" from work. Of course, exceptions were made of those who possessed money to buy a place to stay in.

But nobody was permitted to sleep upon the land, or to sit upon the land, or rest upon the land who did not first pay RENT to one of the island landlords. At nightfall the police descended upon you with fixed bayonets to drive you back into the sea or to force you to produce the wherewithal that would pay for a night's lodging or rent. This reminded you of home and the dear old land of Liberty and the police force in Los Angeles who, in the winter of 1915, had charged upon the unemployed and driven them from the city at the point of guns because they could not pay for rent and food. You began to breathe easier and to realize that these poor natives were on the high road to "civilization" themselves and to feel that things were not going to be so bad after all.

You saw that all you had to do was to get somebody to allow you to work for him in order to earn the money you needed to pay rent. By this time you were so weary that you could scarcely crawl but you threw back your head and tramped down past the calaboose and struck the first man in the first office building you came to for a job.

This man happened to be the biggest cocoanut planter in Kennekuk. He looked you over and sighed and said he would permit you to pick cocoanuts for him. For every hundred you garnered you would

have the privilege of keeping twenty for yourself for your labor.

You saw at once that Kennekuk was a great improvement over New York, or Los Angeles, or London. If you had been unlucky enough to land in one of these metropolises without any money you might have starved to death before securing a job.

The planter set you up for supper and a night's lodging and early the next morning you walked out to the planter's cocoanut grove, removed what was left of your shoes and stockings and began to climb up a furlong or two of cocoanut tree. The work was hard and the island climate only about twenty-five degrees cooler than a steel plant in America. Sometimes you stopped and drank the milk from one of the nuts. By night you had made thirty-five trips and had gathered a hundred cocoanuts.

One of the natives came out to check up your product and rewarded you with seventeen cocoanuts and three which you had consumed during the day to gain strength to continue your efforts. The price of a room and bed for a night was fifteen cocoanuts, but the native remarked that Kennekuk was the home of a seven-day workday so you need entertain no fears of not being able to pay for your bed on the Sabbath.

The people of Kennekuk had a funny religion. One evening after you had secreted the few extra cocoanuts that had been allotted you for your labors, you wandered up to the great white temple upon the hill to hear what the Priests of Gonorah had to say about God. You found a large gathering of the natives surrounding a great altar. These were obviously of the working class but one and all brought cocoanuts, or bananas, or spices, or camphor to aid in supporting the Priests and the Church.

Everybody joined in a queer chanting song and dipped their heads till they touched the floor whenever one of the Initiate said 'Gonorah.' And then the High Priest began to speak.

He said Kennekuk was the greatest land in all the world and the Kennekukians the most wonderful people; that God had given to them, in the midst of the beauty and plenty of the island, Liberty and Equality such as no other nation had ever possessed.

The poor working man had the same opportunity as the rich and the great. Everywhere Liberty and Equality lifted their

heads. And he told the plantation workers to go back to their work and labor diligently, to save their cocoanuts and help the Church and all good things should be added unto them.

And you figured it out in the sands on your way to your bed in the bunkhouse, how, after making proper deductions for clothing, it would take a hard-working native, working every day in the year, fifty years to save up enough to buy a hut to live in. Right then and there you made up your mind to get away from Kennekuk at the first opportunity. Sometime later you shipped as stoker on one of the U. S. merchant vessels and so arrived back in America at last.

You were out of work and almost penniless; your back had acquired a hump and your hands were proof that you had been working FOR SOMEBODY for a long time. Stoking put your experiences at Kennekuk out of your mind for a time; it was so much worse though it is fostered under the stars and stripes. And by the time you got around to thinking things over and making comparisons, you found that Chicago (or was it San Francisco?) is not so very different from the Glorious Isle after all.

Your money was gone and you had to go out to sell your two strong hands to the employer who offered to pay the most for them. But a hundred thousand other men flocked at the doors of the factories and mines and mills. And they crowded close holding up their great hands and offering them for sale at so much per week, each man bidding lower than his neighbor, until the employers bought the labor of men at just what it requires to buy food and shelter and clothing, or, in the language of the Kennekukians, cocoanuts and a bed.

After all, England and France and Germany and America are precisely like the Isle of Kennekuk. First came strong men who grabbed the lands of these nations. These killed the natives or forced them to labor upon the land that had once been theirs, in order to earn money to pay RENT.

And the land grabbers made laws to protect them in their robbery and to punish the natives who sought to take back what had been stolen from them. And the children who are today born into these great "civilized" nations are in the same position

as you found yourself in your Adventures at Kennekuk.

They find that they have been born too late. All the lands have already been stolen. The mines have been taken and the rivers and harbors and railway rights have been grabbed.

But the young men and the young women, who have been born too late to share in the earlier stealings, must pay rent to live upon the face of the earth. And in order to pay rent they must get jobs. And in order to get jobs they must give over the things they make. They must give over the coal they dig from the earth, the beds they make, the clothes they produce. They are only permitted to labor when they allow their employers to appropriate what they may produce. And their employers pay them in wages only enough to allow them to pay room rent and buy food and clothing.

This is because there are in the great cities hundreds of thousands of men who are holding aloft their strong hands and begging for an opportunity to labor, and the employers take those whom they can purchase at the lowest wage.

And so it is easy to see why those who work are no longer free. It is easy to see why those who toil may never find comfort and ease and plenty—a secure old age—today. This is because the necessities of life are today owned by a few rich men.

When a few men own the mines they may force the miners to dig for a small portion of the coal they produce, while the idlers keep the bigger share.

When a few men own the factories, the mills and railroads they need only permit those to work for them who are willing to labor for a small percentage of the value they create. When men own the land privately they may force those who dwell upon the land to pay tribute to them for the privilege of living upon the land.

And the government stands by to say that these things shall continue to be, to send armies and militias to murder the workers who arise to claim the coal they have dug, the railroads they have built and run, to claim the food they have produced or the clothing they have made.

So we still have Kings in America. In the old days the Kings sent their emissaries into the far corners to flog the taxes from the blood of the peasants. Today the

landlord, the mine operator or railroad magnate makes gay in other lands while the Government protects his loot. Men beg for an opportunity to give over to the bosses the larger portion of the value of their labor in order to be permitted to labor. Men come forth with their taxes, or tributes, or rents to the land Kings today.

And all this slavery—YOUR SLAVERY and my slavery—exists because these things are privately owned.

Socialism proposes to abolish the private

ownership in the great factories, mines, mills, lands, etc. It proposes that the workers who USE and NEED these things shall own them collectively so that those who work may have the value of their own products. Think this over. You cannot have freedom or opportunity in Kennekuk. You cannot have freedom in any "civilized" country until the workers own in common the things they use in common in producing the necessities of life. Study Socialism! It is the road to Freedom.

COMSTOCKERY IN AMERICA

By MARGARET H. SANGER

THERE is nothing which causes so much laughter or calls forth so many joking comments by people in Europe as Comstockery in America.

Our English cousins have a vague idea of its intricacies but the Latin mind, either Italian, French or Spanish, cannot grasp the idea of its existence.

America stands in the eyes of the younger generations of the various countries of Europe as a great hope and inspiration for the development of a free race. What, then, is their surprise and disappointment to learn that an American woman, born on American soil, must leave the "land of the free and home of the brave" to escape imprisonment for discussing the subject of Family Limitation.

When the Latin hears this he storms and rages and asks where the integrity of manhood has gone, that it will allow such an infringement on one's personal liberty.

But the English calmly shake their heads and tell you that the same issue was fought out in London in 1877 when Annie Besant and Charles Bradlaugh braved the courts and won freedom in their cause for British subjects for all time. They will tell you they sympathize, but can do little to help you, for the place to fight "Comstockery in America" is in America.

There is no doubt of the truth of this assertion, so in order to fight Comstockery we must know who and what is behind it and put a strong searchlight on actions, which are considered by all classes of people

throughout the civilized world as most contemptible and despicable.

COMSTOCK'S INFLUENCE.

Anthony Comstock was born in 1844. He has been Secretary and Special Agent for the Society for the Suppression of Vice since 1873; also U. S. Post Office Inspector since the same year. He records that he has destroyed 160 tons of literature and brought 3,760 "criminals" to "justice" during these years.

There is no doubt in the minds of thinking people that the influence of the Church in America has gradually been declining since the days of Robert Ingersoll and that today, as a power, it has almost entirely collapsed. But the relentless war which Ingersoll waged against the Church and the present-day power of Comstock are somewhat connected: the Church feeling its power going from it, through Ingersoll's influence, grasped at the straw held out to it by the Government, called the "Comstock laws." These were passed in 1873, and prohibit the sending of any matter through the mails which, in the opinion of Anthony Comstock, the Postal Authorities choose to call "obscene."

Thus, the Church, hiding behind the closed doors of the suppression of Vice Society, works its timid and poisonous way through the Government via its special agent, Comstock.

The passing of the Comstock laws in 1873 was designed to aid and abet both

moral and religious prejudice and persecutions. This aroused the wrath of the free-thinking and liberty-loving populace, and in 1878 great agitation was aroused against these laws: a petition was presented to Congress, headed by the name of Robert G. Ingersoll and signed by 70,000 "free-men," requesting the repeal of these outrageous laws. They were passed and executed ostensibly to prevent the passage of obscene literature through the U. S. mails, but actually were designed and enforced to destroy the liberty of conscience and thought in matters of religion and against the freedom of the press.

The petition caused great agitation and aroused so much interest that a few years later the law was revised, removing the interference of religious prejudice, but the moral interference was left and Anthony Comstock then became the official guardian of American morality.

PERSECUTIONS.

Since that power was entrusted to Comstock, it was most natural that he should "make good" and give some evidence of the need of his special service.

This he proves by sending out his minions of agents (Government spies) to tempt obscure booksellers to sell him a prohibited book. One case on record is of a father and son, running a book store in the lower East Side of New York City. The agents came again and again asking for a certain medical book. The father stated that he did not have it, and the agent then induced him to order one for him. The father, thinking there was a demand for the book, sent to the publisher and purchased a copy, which the Agent called for the following day, paid for it and turned round and arrested the bookseller. He was dragged off to court and was sentenced to one year in Blackwell's Island. The son was also fined, and as I have not the records here with me, I can not say if he was not also imprisoned.

The case of Moses Harmon is familiar to all. This man of seventy years, residing in Chicago, editing the paper "Lucifer," in which he discussed birth control and kindred subjects, was arrested six or seven times, sentenced to imprisonment year after year, always resuming the fight when he came from prison, until finally his health gave way through his sufferings and

imprisonment, and he died, a victim of Comstock persecution.

There have been many publications during these years which have been suppressed by the orders of Comstock, and the publisher imprisoned, but one of the latest, and most flagrant disregard of Press Freedom was in the suppression and confiscation of the monthly publication, "The Woman Rebel." This was a working woman's paper, the first of its kind ever issued in America. It had for its motto: "Working Women, build up within yourselves a conscious fighting character against all things which enslave you," and claimed that one of the working woman's greatest enslavements was her ignorance of the means to control the size of her family. The editor promised to defy the existing law and to impart such information to the readers of "The Woman Rebel" and urged all working women to rally to its support.

The first issue in March, 1914, was suppressed. The May, July, August, September and October issues were suppressed and confiscated, and three indictments, on the March, May and July issues, covering twelve counts, were returned against me, as the editor, by the Federal Grand Jury. One of the counts against me was for an article called "Open Discussion." This was a discussion of the subject of birth control and was considered "obscene." Another was an article announcing the organization of The Birth Control League, setting forth its object and methods of organization. All the indictments were returned and counts were made on all articles which discussed the idea of the Working Woman keeping down the number of her family.

"The Woman Rebel" did not advocate the practice of this knowledge as a "panacea" for the present economic enslavement, but it did urge the practice of it as the most important immediate step which should be taken toward the economic emancipation of the workers. Thousands of letters poured in to me from all over the country. I was besieged with requests for the information from all kinds and classes of people. Nearly every letter agreed with me that too long have the workers produced the slave class, the children for the mills, the soldiers for the wars, and the time had come to watch the masters produce their own slaves if they must have them. *We know the capitalist class must have a*

slave class, bred in poverty and reared in ignorance. That is why it is quite consistent with their laws that there should be a heavy penalty of five years' imprisonment for imparting information as to the means of preventing conception. Industry in the U. S. A. is fairly new; it is reaching out in foreign lands to capture trade and to undersell its rival competitors. They have only one way to do this, and that is to get labor cheap. The cheapest labor is that of women and children; the larger the number of children in a family, the earlier they enter the factory. We need only to look to our mill towns to see the truth of this statement; to the conditions in the cotton mills of the South where little boys and girls, eight, nine and ten years of age, wend their sleepy way to the mills in the morning before the winter-sun has risen, to work at a killing tension for twelve hours as helper to the mother, and return again when the sun has set.

We, who know the conditions there, know that the father cannot get a man's wage, because a child's labor can be had. There is an average of nine children to every family in these and in other industrial sections where child labor exists and wages run low and infant mortality runs high.

Many of the stockholders of these mills are legislators and congressmen who have to do with the making of the laws. Naturally it is to their interest that child slaves be born into the world and their duty is to enforce the laws to that end.

"The Woman Rebel" told the Working Woman these things, and told her that a large family of children is one of the greatest obstacles in the way to obtain economic freedom for her class. It is the greatest burden to them in all ways, for no matter how spirited and revolutionary one may feel, the piteous cry of hunger of several little ones will compel a man to forego the future good of his class to the present need of his family.

It is the man with a large family who is so often the burden of a strike. He is usually the hardest to bring out on strike, for it is he and his who suffer the most through its duration. Everywhere, in the shop, in the army of the unemployed, in the bread line where men are ready to take the place of a striker, it is the large family problem which is the chief of the multitudes

of miseries confront the working class today.

"The Woman Rebel" told the Working Woman that there is no freedom for her until she has this knowledge which will enable her to say if she will become a mother or not. The fewer children she had to cook, wash and toil for, the more leisure she would have to read, think and develop. That freedom demands leisure, and her first freedom must be in her right of herself over her own body; the right to say what she will do with it in marriage and out of it; the right to become a mother, or not, as she desires and sees fit to do; that all these rights swing around the pivot of the means to prevent conception, and every woman had the right to have this knowledge if she wished it.

As editor and publisher of "The Woman Rebel," I felt a great satisfaction and inspiration in the response which came from working men and women all over America. For fourteen years I have been much in the nursing field, and know too well the intolerable conditions among the workers which a large family does not decrease.

I saw that the working women ask for this knowledge to prevent bringing more children into the world, and saw the medical profession shake its head in silence at this request.

I saw that the women of wealth obtain this information with little difficulty, while the working man's wife must continue to bring children into the world she could not feed or clothe, or else resort to an abortion.

I saw that it was the working class women who fill the death list which results from abortion, for though the women of wealth have abortions performed too, there is given them the best medical care and attention money can buy; trained nurses watch over them, and there is seldom any evil consequence. But the working woman must look for the cheapest assistance. *The professional abortionist, the unclean midwives, the fake and quack—all feed upon her helplessness and thrive and prosper on her ignorance. It is the Comstock laws which produce the abortionist and make him a thriving necessity while the law-makers close their Puritan eyes.*

I saw that it is the working class children who fill the mills, factories, sweatshops, orphan asylums and reformatories, because through ignorance they were brought into

the world, and this ignorance continues to be perpetuated.

I resolved, after a visit to France, where children are loved and wanted and cared for and educated, to devote my time and effort in giving this information to women who applied for it. I resolved to defy the law, not behind a barricade of law books and technicalities, but by giving the information to the workers directly in factory and workshop.

This was done by the publication of a small pamphlet, "Family Limitations," of which one hundred thousand copies were distributed in factories and mines throughout the U. S.

When my case was called for trial I requested a postponement of three weeks to prepare it. The judge refused this, and not desiring to fritter away my time by these legal annoyances, which sap one's strength and unfit one for any useful work, I decided to take an indefinite postponement and left for London.

While this work was being carried on in New York, William Sanger, my husband and comrade, was in Europe. At the outbreak of the war he returned, just as I was leaving. He knew nothing of my work or the Birth Control Movement.

Nevertheless, in January, a man called at his studio, representing himself as a socialist and friend of mine, and asked for a pamphlet on "Family Limitations." Mr. Sanger at first refused it saying he had none, but after urgent pleading on the part of the supposed "comrade," Mr. Sanger went to my desk and found two, one of which he gave him. A few minutes later this "comrade" returned with Anthony Comstock, who arrested Mr. Sanger and searched his studio. He was placed under arrest and allowed to go out on bail.

The trial came up in April, but the judge refused a jury trial, saying the pamphlet was "awful."

(As author of the pamphlet, I will guarantee there was nothing in the "awful pamphlet" that Mr. Judge or Mr. District

Attorney either had not discussed many times with their wives or with other men.)

The Free Speech League have taken up Mr. Sanger's case, and are fighting for a jury trial. At the time of writing I do not know the outcome. Although I have been compelled to flee to a place of safety to carry out my work unmolested, when I have accomplished all that I intend to do, and say all that I desire to say on the birth control subject, and give all the means to prevent conception given in other countries, I shall return to America and resume my trial.

It is to be hoped that the American people will turn their eyes in the direction of the outrageous postal laws and fight them to a finish. Certainly the Constitution of the U. S. never intended that Congress should go beyond the duties of efficiency, when it was authorized to establish post-offices. It is certain there was no intention that it should pass judgment on the moral qualities of the matter to be conveyed (any more than the intellectual or religious); it was intended and authorized to be an efficient mechanical institution, not a moral or religious one. The people of Ingersoll's day fought and won freedom from Government interference in religious thought. Can not the people of today win our and our children's freedom from its interference in moral thought?

Comstockery must die! Education on the means to prevent conception and publicity on Comstock's actions is the surest weapon to strike the blow. When people have the knowledge to prevent conceptions then the law becomes useless and falls away like the dead skin of a snake.

There is little doubt but that my return to America will mean a long term of imprisonment. But that will not stop the propaganda of Birth Control; there will ever be the glowing satisfaction that the authorities cannot imprison one's contempt for them, or deprive the workers of the knowledge they have already gained.

Contributions for the Defense Fund of Comrades Sanger should be sent care of Leonard D. Abbott, 241 East 21st street, New York, N. Y.

EDITORIAL

The World War and the Workers

OUT of the shock and bewilderment of the vastest war the world has ever known, a few clear eyes are beginning to look through the battle-smoke to what lies beyond. Foremost among those in our own ranks in this attempt is our comrade Herman Gorter of Holland, whose book, "Imperialism, World War and Social Democracy," will soon be in the hands of American readers. He shows why European Socialism has failed, through the same opportunism and subserviency to the leaders of prosperous craft unions which appear so often in our American movement. He points out the course which Socialists hereafter must take if they are to make headway against Imperialism, which, as he shows, is the big new fact in the recent evolution of society. As for the immediate future, he promises no quick relief from the burdens of militarism, but rather looks for heavier armaments and greater wars to come, until the proletariat awakes. Whether right or wrong in this last view, he is right beyond a doubt in the uncompromising tactics he advocates, and his book should be read by every one who cares for the aims of Socialism.

Less inspiring, because less revolutionary, and single-minded, yet equally interesting and stimulating, is a new work by Edwin Davies Schoonmaker, just issued by the Century Company, New York, entitled, "The World Storm and Beyond." Since the price, \$2.00 net, puts the book beyond the reach of most wage-workers, we think it worth while to summarize the author's conclusions at some length.

Caesarism, the rule of a military despot, began nearly twenty centuries ago; it submerged first Italy and France, then the rest of Europe, but took only a temporary and precarious hold of England. The free cities of Italy in the middle ages marked the first real recovery from this blight. The French Revolution was the

first great uprising of the Gauls whose ancestors had been crushed by Julius Caesar. Napoleon, for all his tyranny, was never welcomed as a brother by the Caesars of Austria and Russia; they feared him as a menace to the old order. Austria redrew the map of Europe after Waterloo, but Austria was soon overshadowed by the more competent Prussia. Individual liberty revived in France and Italy; it was never wholly crushed out in England. In Germany itself, the spirit of revolt, denied any effective voice in the government, was slowly gathering strength in the labor unions and the Social Democracy. War has proved for the German Kaiser the easiest way to destroy the influence of Socialism at home as well as to attack the enemies beyond his borders.

In this movement of democracy, which the Kaisers of Germany and Austria are attacking, the Czar of Russia, of course, has no part. But there is room for only one Caesar in Europe, and the Czar prefers to be that one. And in his fight against Wilhelm, he has a united country behind him, because the growth and development of Russia are blocked for the lack of an outlet on the open sea. England for two centuries has stood in the way; now England is Russia's ally. Whatever the momentary outcome, the progress of Russia can not long be stopped. Thus the real character of Russia becomes a matter of vital importance to all of us, and this the author examines in a chapter entitled "The Democratic Russians."

The Czar and his Cossacks are not Russia. The Russian people are still mainly agricultural. The farm village is the real center of Russian life. The villages, with no share in the political government, have nevertheless a larger measure of industrial democracy than the workers of any other nation. They own their land in common and work it collectively. In the six cold months when farm work is impossible, they carry on a variety of industries,

and these are controlled not by capitalists large or small, but by workers associated in little groups known as *artels*, which manage their own affairs. Not only are the great mass of Russians innocent of any complicity in the outrages, which at various times have been committed by the Czar's officials, but their whole spirit is directly opposed to tyranny of any kind.

Turning to England, Mr. Schoonmaker finds that with more political freedom than in any other European country, the English workers are economically in a most deplorable state. The British government controls one-fifth of the habitable land of the globe; the English people are "either tenants upon the confiscated freeholds of their ancestors or in crowded cities dependent for their daily bread upon the slender thread of foreign trade".... "In not one nation of continental Europe does the proportion of the 'occupied population' engaged in agriculture fall below 30 per cent, whereas in Great Britain the per cent is 9.2. Think of half of Great Britain, an island of unsurpassed fertility and climate, lying in grass, while fifty per cent of the children of the cities and larger towns of England are underfed." Landlordism has proved a more crushing burden to the people of England than militarism to the people of Germany.

The present situation of Europe, with each nation becoming more and more closely bound economically to the rest, while politically each is independent, is like the situation which threatened our American ancestors at the close of the Revolutionary war, and which was overcome, first by federation, and later by a "more perfect union." Some such federation, the author predicts, will be found necessary in Europe to end the war and to prevent its breaking out afresh.

The apparent collapse of Socialism is to the capitalist class "the one compensation for the horrors of the present war." And to the Socialists themselves it comes as a grievous disappointment. But essentially Socialism means, so says the author, "mass action as opposed to individual effort."

"When we remember that in the beginnings of society armed bands, the embryos of the present armies, were obliged somehow to

find their own food, and that among all early states down even until recent times, every soldier was expected to supply his own arms and equipment, it begins to dawn upon us that our present amazing efficiency in things military is due almost solely to the fact that the state of war has for centuries been in process of socialization, that the individual who yesterday was obliged to take thought for his clothing, for his armor, even for his own food and shelter, has today only to do his duty as a soldier to be free of all these cares. The tocsin sounds, and the clothing appears; the rifle, instinct with life, it would seem, leaps to his hand; for the cavalryman the horse with bridle and saddle is ready. For every man his implement is at hand. Long trains are waiting, and with what unimaginable conveniences! Kitchens with cooks capped and aproned; hospitals with doctors and nurses, cots and bandages, medicine for the least blister of the foot. A whole society is in motion. Comforts such as men dream of in their homes are here in abundance. To the gathering millions, come, many of them, from long years of galling economy, it is as though some magician were abroad assembling out of the air these wonders. The age of childhood has returned. One has only to run to the great father and be fed with the most wholesome food, and clothed with the most scientific clothing, and have poured out at his feet such toys as the heart of a child never dreamed of: swords and guns and cannon of every description; trains and motors; submarines and flying-ships; searchlights for the night and wonderful telescopes for the day. . . .

"And let him be wounded, and instantly the great father becomes the great mother. The despatch and thoroughness with which he is attended are limited only by the capacity of the service. Not here neglect with idle doctors all about. Money or no money, he is cared for. For once his real worth as a man is appreciated. This is the most astonishing thing about the present war. It has made of the miner, the mason, the factory hand, the street car conductor, an asset of such value that for the first time it has become, with no opposition even from the capitalist press, the sacred duty of society to see not only that he is well fed and well clothed, but also that at the public expense he is supplied with doctors and nurses. And as he lingers between life and death, never a thought of who is to meet the expense of the burial, never the hell that perhaps wife and children will starve. The great father and the great mother will provide for them.

"Never before in the history of the world, I repeat, has there been such a practical demonstration of the socialist theory—the theory that somehow or other the individual would be better off and society better off if the latter would take charge of that part of the business of life which is necessary to the efficiency of the individual whether in peace or war."

All true as far as it goes, but it is

scarcely necessary to remind REVIEW readers of the world-wide difference between the Socialist ideal of democratic control of socialized industry, with individual freedom in hours of leisure, and the militarist ideal now so fully realized. Nevertheless, on the economic side, the argument is conclusive. The war has demonstrated that it is perfectly practicable for the modern state to provide for the material welfare of all its workers and their families. And the workers themselves are coming to realize this. Now read the author's picture of the situation when peace has been declared:

"...That powerful state whose energy and watchful care were everywhere fathering its millions will have come to an end. And in its place there will be another state as different from the former as one thing can be different from another. The socialism of war will give way to the individualism of peace. Society will become unsocial. Once the rifles are stacked, once the uniforms are laid aside, there is severed that intimate bond between father and children. Instantly the relation between the individual and the state becomes one of cold formality. That man who in the battle-line was so precious, so deserving of every attention, becomes a thing of little concern. Henceforth his willingness to serve society is not enough to guarantee him even his daily bread. He is an outcast from the great home. So long as poverty does not drive him to crime, there is no limit to the misery into which, so far as the state is concerned, this soldier of peace may not wander."

So far Mr. Schoonmaker's reasoning is irresistible, but he stops just short of the logical conclusion, possibly out of deference to the Century Company and their customers who can afford to pay \$2.00 net for a book of 60,000 words. What he does say at this point is that the

divine altruism which we see fusing in one great glow the armies of Europe today will somehow have to be blown abroad through the infinite tomorrows. What he might have said, and what we thank him for helping us see, is that the workers who have been trained to fight, and who know from experience that the associated labor of even half their number can maintain them in comfort hitherto undreamt of, will scarcely consent to return meekly to their former slavery. The end of the war may well prove the end of private capitalism.

What the Governments Will Do. It is not to be supposed that the ruling classes are ignorant of the situation they will have to meet when the war ends, and there can scarcely be a doubt that they will be prepared to enact measures designed to relieve the workers and thus avert revolution. Comrade William English Walling has complied and written a book entitled "The Socialists and the War," published by Henry Holt & Co. of New York, and advertised on another page of this month's REVIEW. It is mainly taken up with the official and unofficial expressions of Socialists since the war began, but in his closing chapter he discusses the legislative measures which may be expected. Among them are graduated income and property taxes, taxes on the rental value of land, national ownership of railroads, mines, etc., minimum wage laws, and finally the nationalization or municipalization of all the more important branches of manufacture. State capitalism in Europe seems a matter of the immediate future. What will be the effect of this on the United States?

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NEWS AND VIEWS



MISS CALM MORRISON HOKE

Comrade Calm Morrison Hoke—The fallacy of that stupid old saying that "Woman's place is in the home" is most emphatically proven in the career of Miss Calm Morrison Hoke of Palisade, N. J. First, last and all the time Miss Hoke is a socialist, and it is doubtful if there is a person of her age (she is twenty-five) who is so well informed on the subject of socialism.

Miss Hoke, in addition to being a frequent contributor to socialist publications, occupies an enviable position in the industrial and scientific world. As consulting chemist of the Jewelers' Technical Advice Co. of New York, she has won considerable distinction among some of the biggest and most famous jewelers of the United States. To them she is known only as C. M. Hoke, A. B., B. S., A. M., and the probabilities are that they would be considerably surprised to learn that the expert whose words of wisdom they value so highly is a girlish young woman who devotes her spare time to the cause of socialism.

Likes Biology—"The biological articles in the REVIEW are great—more thrilling than a dozen novels. I am studying biology now, thanks to the REVIEW—also Karl Marx. The

REVIEW has been a great help to me."—C. C., California.

Winnsboro, Texas—The Texas comrades will hold an encampment at Winnsboro from Aug. 2 to 6 and expect a good sized attendance. Some of our friends write that they expect to handle a lot of good socialist literature and we hope our friends in the neighborhood will all attend and get acquainted. Why can't the other states do as well as Texas?

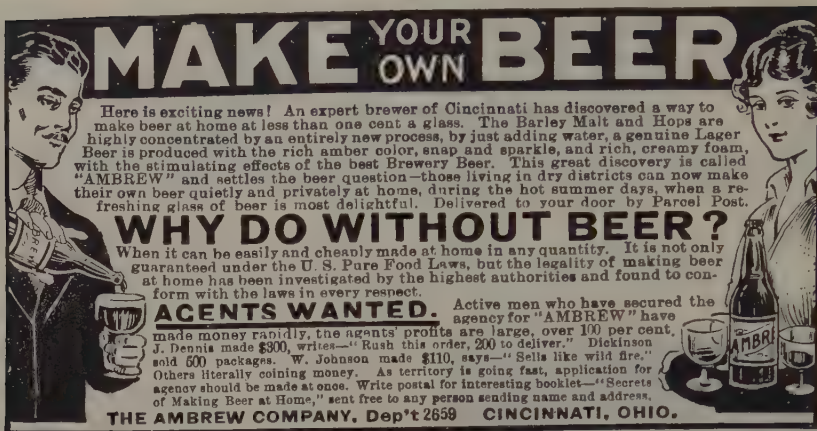
An Appreciation—"I wish to call your attention to the value of the articles now running in the REVIEW under the title of "SAVAGE SURVIVALS IN HIGHER PEOPLES," as a text book for the Socialist Sunday School. We have very few good books for this work. Cannot these articles be published in cheap pamphlet form so each individual scholar might possess a copy in our Sunday Schools for study and reference? Am offering the above as a suggestion. Yours for Socialist Sunday Schools, W. S. Hutchins."

We take pleasure in announcing that the Publishing House will publish these articles in book form about the first of October at a price within the reach of all REVIEW readers and Socialist Sunday School scholars.

A Socialist Dynamo—Comrade L. T. Rush of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, is certainly a "live wire." Although working eight hours a day at his trade as a boilermaker, he finds time every evening to hammer home a socialist argument or two into the heads of his fellow workers in Cedar Rapids. He has so far ordered three bundles of June REVIEWS numbering 175 copies. More power to Comrade Rush.

From Local 64, I. W. W., Minneapolis—"Please forward us forty more June REVIEWS. Our first bundle of seventy went like hot cakes. It certainly is a great issue. Keep the good work up."—Anderson, Sec'y.

Reply by Professor Moore—Comrade Cole of Detroit asks: "Why is it that a good many animals, including man, have 'teats' on the males as well as females, only not so well developed in the male generally? Are they vestigial organs?" And Comrade Moore has sent in the following reply: "The cause of these organs is not known certainly. Some authorities speak of them as vestigial organs surviving from a time when mammary glands were functional in both sexes of human beings. But I do not myself see any evidence for this view. Such organs are found in the males of other species besides the human. They probably represent some entangling of the sex characters not yet well understood."—J. H. M.



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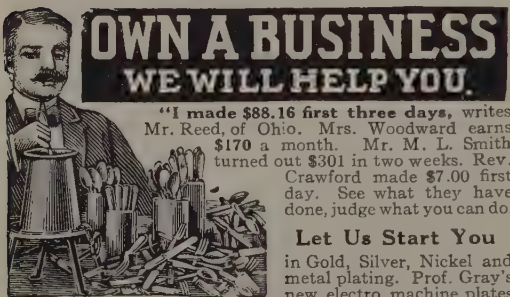
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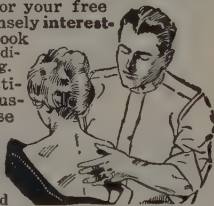
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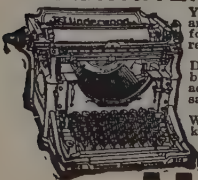
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A Few Words About "Recognition"—"A good deal of misconception is abroad in industrial and trade union circles as to the value of what is called Recognition of a Union by the Employers.

Frankly we have no particular love for this shibboleth. Men have fought and died on the battlefield for words that meant little or nothing, when analyzed; and on the workers' battlefield (to which he marches every morning of his life) there is great danger that a phrase may be mistaken for a fact and that the wage slave may be striking and starving for the merest shadow of that substance he has set out to gain.

A very perilous danger lurks round the thing known as "recognition." Like "the blessed word Mesopotamia," "recognition" seems to act like magic in some union circles—the members, presumably, being willing to barter every other demand they have ever made if only they can persuade employers to "recognize" them. But to us it does not appear a very profitable bargain merely to have the union "recognized" whilst all its claims are ignored. Here is an instance: When the secretary of the N. U. B. W. approached the chairman of Watney, Combe, Reid & Company, Limited, with proposals for increased wages and shorter hours, etc., he was told that the company was quite willing to recognize the union, but that as for what the union wanted—well, that would have to wait.

Now for the reverse side of the medal. The chairman of one of the smaller breweries was approached with a similar request for improved conditions, and, after conceding all the men asked for, said that he was afraid his company could not recognize the union. In this case the secretary courteously informed him that, under the circumstances, he "didn't think it mattered."

The point is obvious. If brewery workers can obtain more money for less work, together with more humane conditions of employment, through the operations, machinations, threats, force or persuasion of the union, it doesn't matter a brass farthing whether the union is officially "recognized" or not. Whereas, if we gain the mere empty ceremony of "recognition" without the aforesaid benefits, it matters very much indeed. All workers, we think, will grasp this idea readily enough.

But it is the simple truth to say that the ma-

jority of firms prefer to deal with the N. U. B. W. (when they find the men in their employ are strongly organized) because (among other reasons) through this channel the workers' grievances are properly formulated and presented in a businesslike manner. When we get "recognition" and a rise, so much the better. But we are not going to drop the real bone for the shadow of it in the water.—Mr. E. L. Pratt, Official Bulletin Building Workers' Industrial Union, England.

Chicago Lectures—The lectures of Dr. Wm. Thurston Brown on sociology held at 1024 North Robey street, Chicago, the past winter, have been so well attended that Comrade Brown has been compelled to form an extra class. The two classes now meet Wednesday and Thursday evenings, respectively, at eight o'clock. William Thurston Brown is one of the best-known scholars in the American socialist movement today, and if you live in Chicago or vicinity you should not miss his courses in sociology. Among other important works to be taken up by the classes this summer are those of Lester Ward and Arthur M. Lewis. Admission 25 cents. At the request of the students, classes will be continued through the coming months.

The People and the Public Schools—The New Jersey State School Committee of the Socialist Party has been at work for three years investigating the public schools of the state, studying modern educational theory and practice and trying to interest the workers of the state in the importance of getting the right kind of education for their children. The committee has received innumerable requests for information on educational problems, especially as they affect the working class and as they are related to Socialist theory. But it has found its effort toward the betterment of the public schools blocked by the lack of knowledge and lack of interest in this vital matter among workers and even Socialists. It, therefore, came to the conclusion that a brief, clear statement of modern educational problems in a form which would hold the attention of the workers was the most important work the committee could do this year. A committee of five has devoted a year to the writing of this brief pamphlet. It is not issued as an official or even authoritative statement, but as an honest effort to present the problems for the consideration and decision of the working class. It is hoped that it will suggest educational discussions to the party branches and will rouse an interest which will result in action among working class organizations.

(The pamphlet can be obtained from the secretary, Maud Thompson, 206 N. Maple avenue, East Orange, N. J., for five cents a copy in lots of ten or more; ten cents for single copies.)

From a New England Engineer—Business here has decreased 25 per cent. The engines have increased 40 per cent in hauling capacity—all in three years. Engineers are now demoted back to 1906. Thirty per cent of our engineers are now chasing the scoop. In other branches of the service conditions are worse. Tramps drift over the roads in shoals. This is the picture of prosperity in New England and it begins to look like a fight for a wage in the near future besides.



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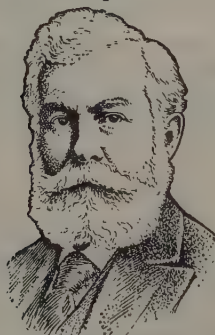
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The 1915 National Committee Meeting

By L. E. KATTERFELD,
National Committeeman

THIS convention means a *complete reversal* of the policies that have dominated the party for the past three years. All the important actions taken are diametrically opposed to the actions of the last National Convention and the National Committee meetings of 1913 and 1914.

Those who were in the majority in the Convention of 1912 inaugurated a policy of centralization. They took the election of the party officials out of the hands of the membership and placed it in the hands of the National Committee. They deprived the membership of the power to initiate referendums and placed that power with State Executive Committees and National Committee. Last year when a referendum of the membership had again restored this power to the rank and file, the National Committee violated the spirit, if not the letter, of the National Constitution and passed an amendment putting the percentage required to initiate referendums so high as to make it practically impossible for the membership to function. In the meantime, also, the National Committee had been deprived of the power to take affirmative action between sessions, so that the only body in our entire organization with power to function was the National Executive Committee of five members—centralization run riot.

The National Committee at its meeting this year adopted constitutional changes, which, if approved by the membership, mean an absolute reversal of this autocratic policy and a return to democracy in the Party's control. Provision was made for the election of National Officials by referendum. The clause prohibiting affirmative actions on the part of the National Committee was stricken out, so that the membership in the States may have a voice through its Committeemen in directing the National affairs and the Executive Committee may no longer "reign" supreme. Another clause was inserted specifically prohibiting national officials from interfering in any State con-

troversies. The power to initiate referendums was restored to the Party membership.

So strong was the tendency against the old policy that even some of its leading exponents—some of those primarily responsible for it—changed front completely and hastened to climb upon the band wagon with an alacrity that was amusing even if not edifying.

The sentiment of the Committee became apparent on the very first day, when those who have heretofore always been the minority in our national conventions, elected a majority of the different subcommittees. It became so plain that even the blind could see it when the position of the National officials and of the National Executive Committee, in regard to the controversies in Texas and Michigan, was reversed and the radical delegates who had been opposed by the national administration were seated by a vote of over two to one.

The climax came during the report of the Committee on Constitution, which recommended that Section III, Article X, dealing with fusion and Party treason, be made stronger and more binding. This recommendation was made as a "backfire" against the propaganda which has been conducted from Milwaukee for some time in favor of striking out the Party treason clause and authorizing the Party to endorse and vote for non-Socialist candidates. In spite of very eloquent appeals from ex-Mayor Lunn of Schenectady, ex-Mayor Wilson of Berkeley, ex-Mayor Duncan of Butte and ex-Congressman Berger himself, the Constitution Committee won the day and its recommendations were endorsed on roll call by the overwhelming vote of 43 to 9.

There can be only one meaning to this. The pendulum has begun to swing back. Although thousands of the radicals have been forced out of the party during the last three years, the party today contains more clear-cut revolutionists than ever before. The names of the "mighty" are losing their power. Only in the election of officials did they still prevail. There is hope that "working-class supremacy in a speedy revolution" will soon become a fact. The party is sound at the core. "No compromise, no political trading" is still its slogan.

Spread the glad tidings among the thousands of Comrades that have become disheartened and discouraged under the policy that the Party adopted at the National Con-

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vention three years ago. Back to the firing line, every one, and take up with renewed courage the struggle to make this Party of ours in fact and truth as well as in name the political expression of a class-conscious working class, so that it may prove equal to the glorious opportunities of tomorrow and TODAY.

By **JAMES P. REID,**
National Committeeman

THE National Committee meeting of 1915, just ended, can be counted as an important one in the history of the party. It marks the turning point back toward party control by the rank and file. The tendency of the past few years, toward government of the party from the top has been held up. The severe case of political diabetes, which the party has suffered from in the past, while no doubt some well-meaning but office-hungry comrades with “get in anyway” as their guiding star, seemed intent on aggravating to the chronic state, has met a decided check.

The Socialist party is saved from falling into the morass of bourgeois reforms and will develop into the political expression of revolutionary Socialism in this country.

My observations at Chicago lead me to this opinion. At meetings of the party I will amplify my reasons for the above statements, but in this article will content myself by a review of a few of the incidents of the meetings.

The “Finnish controversy” took up much time in the meeting, and bodes danger to the party. It will be with us for some time to come. The rank and file of the English-speaking comrades will have to become conversant with the element of danger to our movement which the structural connection of the foreign federation with our party means.

“The cry of “Nationalist” will be hurled at the advocates of a policy which some think the only solution. Be that as it may, with the present arrangement of connection of the foreign federations with the party it cannot be gainsaid that ambitious persons in those federations can keep the whole party busy trying to settle their rows, and all to the detriment and delay of the work of organizing the American wing of the International Socialist movement.

The roll call on the constitutional amend-

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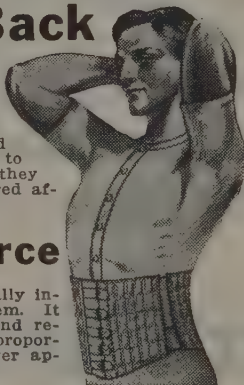
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ment to expel any member advocating the election of other than a Socialist portrays vividly the passing of an opportunism that some time ago afflicted our party. Only nine committeemen voted against this. It was noticeable that among those nine were nearly all our former Socialist mayors and congressmen.

The giving back to the rank and file the direct power to elect the Executive Secretary and Executive Committee was unanimous, which fact means much. Other changes in the Constitution, all of which will be submitted to a referendum of the party membership, also tend to lead us to the social democratic management of our party affairs as against the machine autocracy toward which it seemed for the past few years we were speeding.

The resolutions on war speak for themselves, and I am glad a verbatim report of the jingoistic utterances of some of our ex-Socialist office holders are not in the possession of the capitalist press.

All in all, however, the work of the committee spells onward to real Socialism.

From an Old Friend—Comrade Hall of Mayfield, Me., writes: "Enclosed find a dollar to pay for the REVIEW one year more. I have been a constant reader since its first number. I am now seventy-seven and do not know whether I can read the REVIEW and send you another dollar next year, but you have my most earnest wishes for your success." Comrade Hall's letter is the best and finest praise we have received in many months. The REVIEW will be fifteen years old in July and this makes us feel that we have really been of service in the fight.

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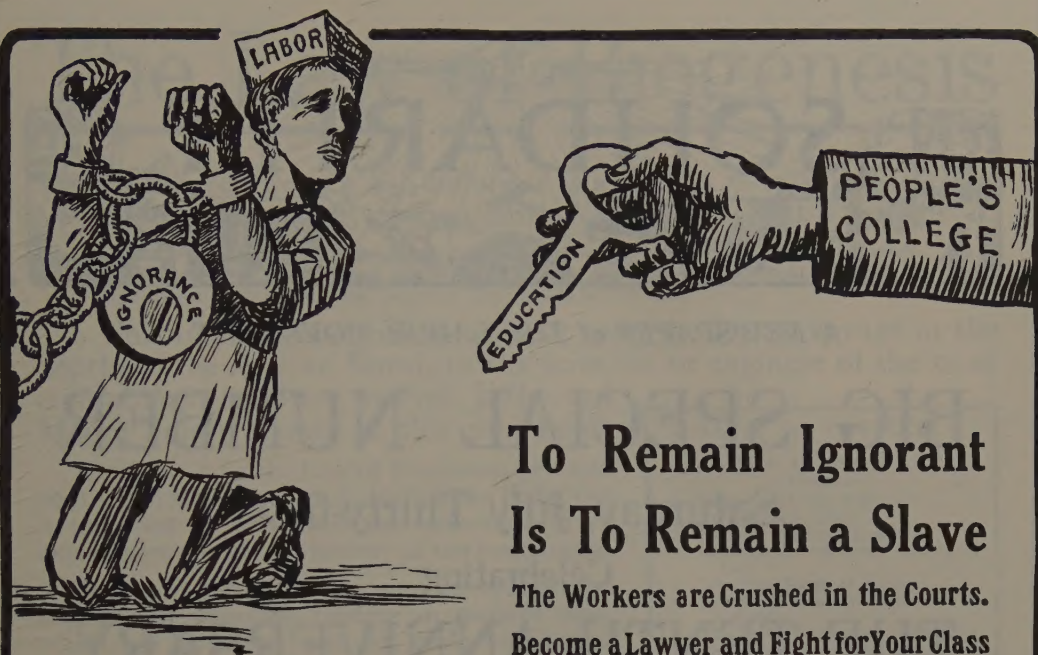
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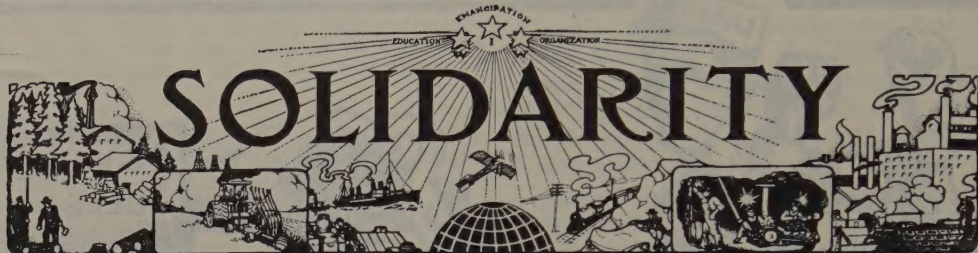
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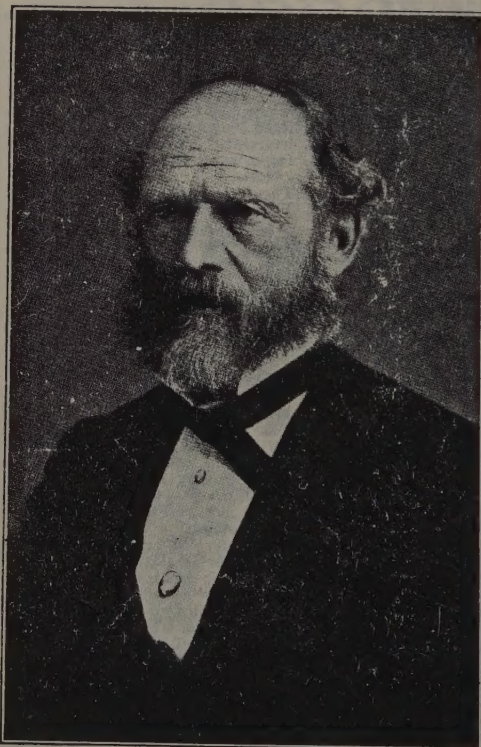
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